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ABSTRACT

This anthropological and sociological study of a Jewish school (the Lubavitcher School) in Victoria, Australia examines the problems of an ethnic group trying to preserve its culture and values within a multicultural society. The study focuses on pressures facing both students and teachers over 15 months. The three major parts of the book discuss the roots of Judaic traditions, social organization, and hindrances of tradition. In Part I the tradition of Chassidic Judaism and the academic tradition of Judaism are discussed. In Part II the social organization of the Lubavitcher school is outlined. Topics discussed include the structuring of tradition, the organization of time and activity, the ceremonial organization of tradition, and the formal organization of knowledge. Part III examines patterns of social interaction and the informal knowledge conveyed in social groups. Finally, the impact of a tradition beset by contradictions on students' lives is analyzed. Research techniques and methodology adapted from anthropological literature are described in the appendix. (KC)

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The Way of Tradition: Life in an Orthodox Jewish School

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Preface

The Way of Tradition is the latest addition to the steadily growing number of anthropological and sociological studies of schools. Interest in these has been one of the most significant developments in educational thinking during the last decade, especially in the United States, Great Britain and, latterly, Australia. This has largely been due to the recognition that the more traditional, large-scale, quantitative research studies have a serious limitation. They can usually paint relatively broad pictures of the educational processes at the behavioural level, but tell us little about the values, feelings and constructions children have about their education at the small-scale level of the school.

For this it is necessary to turn to anthropology and micro-sociology where studies try to establish what *really* happens to children and teachers in the school and classroom. These, many theorists would claim, are really where the action is. By treating them as small-scale social systems with their unique life and cultures, valuable insights can be gained into the richness and complexity of the social interactions which are at the heart of effective teaching and learning. *The Way of Tradition* now joins this body of works.

Equally importantly, it is of great relevance for educationists trying to understand the complexities of multi-cultural or poly-ethnic societies, again like the United States, Great Britain and Australia. In each of these countries, many ethnic groups are trying to preserve their own cultures and values by promoting them through various kinds of educational organizations. In Australia we have ethnic schools, and comparable institutions exist overseas. They are increasing in number, yet very little is known about their problems of ethnic culture maintenance when faced with competing pressures from the wider, Westernized, industrial societies in which they are located. *The Way of Tradition* is about such an ethnic school. Although it is set in an Australian city, the theories which are developed to explain how children can react to problems of culture conflict have general applicability to all societies in which ethnic minorities are trying to preserve their ways of life through education.

At the same time as an interest has developed in observing the

education of children from ethnic minorities by using anthropological studies of schools, there is now a widespread interest in *how* such studies have been done. Since the early 1970s, particularly in the United States, educationists are looking for ethnographic studies of schools not only to throw light on what happens in them, but also to learn more about the research techniques and methodology which can be adapted from the more classical anthropological literature. Again, this need has arisen from dissatisfaction with the more empirical, supposedly 'scientific', large-scale statistical studies of the educational process.

The Way of Tradition attempts to fill all these needs. By focusing as much on universally applicable theories and research techniques as it does on a description of the educational process within one school, it can fairly claim to have relevance for educational thinking well beyond Australia. In addition, it is the first full-scale ethnographic study of a school and supporting community which is of considerable timeless and intrinsic interest both to specialists from a wide range of fields and to the general reader.

'Lubavitcher School' is one of six full-time Jewish day schools in Victoria, Australia. At the time of the 15 months' field-work during 1969 and early 1970, it had a total enrolment of 259 pupils in primary and secondary grades. The name 'Lubavitcher School' has been adopted in an attempt to meet the Principal's request that I should keep the school as anonymous as possible. I have not identified its location, but in any case this is not strictly relevant. The school is situated in an affluent, middle-class neighbourhood within the Melbourne metropolitan area.

I spent the 15 months at the school as a member of staff teaching Social Studies and Geography to forms at the secondary level. At the same time, I worked as an anthropologist using participatory observation supplemented by a number of more structured instruments developed while in the field. My dual role was known to the Principal, as I had made sure of disclosing my anthropological interest in the school when we discussed my appointment. My interest had developed during an earlier, cross-cultural library-based study of the enculturation of children in a variety of ethnic minorities and small communities around the world, which are trying to preserve their values and traditional beliefs in the face of often prejudiced and discriminatory pressures from the wider societies in which they are

situated. My basic interest was in the effects that such a situation—so common for migrant and ethnic minority groups—might have on the children's emotional and educational well-being.

What started off as a relatively unproblematical piece of research gradually developed into a complex but absorbing study of the many overt and concealed pressures facing a small group of committed religious teachers trying to inculcate a way of life and a belief-system which in most respects are alien to the values of the Western techno-culture within which the school is situated, and which dominate its secular teaching program. I was able to participate in a variety of ceremonies and rituals of great antiquity which testified to the genuineness of this commitment. It is one which obviously conflicts with a more materialistic way of life. Understanding and analysing it presents many problems for maintaining 'scientific' neutrality and objectivity. Whether one can ever achieve this is in itself quite problematical, and the most that this study should claim in the way of credibility can only be assessed by the degree to which it commands the reader's assent to the explanations offered, as Redfield has suggested (1956 : 70).

There are some that may challenge the validity of what is described. This would be to indulge in a form of ethnocentricity very far removed from the cultural tolerance which ought to guide our thinking about alternative lifestyles and religious philosophies. We may not agree with them, but we must respect them, and try to be objective enough to recognize their validity for those who profess them. In the case of Orthodox Judaism, commitment to its beliefs and practices needs far greater self-discipline than most of us can muster. The phrase 'Yoke of the Torah' is no misnomer for such orthodoxy.

This is an account of how a number of boys tried to come to terms with the pressures of the 'Yoke' in their formal religious schooling, while at the same time coping with the many demands of the secular education system. I am only too well aware that the account could expose the school to unwelcome publicity, which may harm those who were associated with it during the period of the doctoral research on which it is based. The distance of time that has developed since and the organizational changes that have occurred in the school are some guarantee of continued, relative anonymity. The school now is somewhat different from what it was when I studied it. By writing in the ethnographic present I am presenting a 'snapshot' of what was then,

and still is, a unique school in Australia. It seems to me that its religious ideology and all that flows from it in the way tradition is socially organized within the school carries an important message for both the professional educator and the general public. This is that commitment to a dominant system of values may enhance rather than weaken children's education, and may even be crucial for the very survival of society itself.

In a period of far-reaching and not always beneficial social change in all societies, we would do well to remember anthropologist Laura Thompson's suggestion that deep-seated values are the essential basis of a society's culture or societal, group-living 'problem-solving device'. They are highly resistant to change, and may appear to be swamped in one generation, only to re-surface in a later one as the world-view which provides a society with a 'master plan' and design for living. Schools and other enculturation agencies similar to the one I studied may well be the carriers of the values and traditions upon which the continued well-being of a society depends. If we remain sceptical about such a view, we should at least attempt to put forward an alternative explanation for the persistence of Judaism and the Jewish people over the millenia, despite diaspora, pogrom and holocaust. Might not this be due to the resistance and resurgence of the educational institutions that have flowered among Jewry in response to the injunction 'And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children' (Is. 54 : 13)?

I wish to thank a number of my former and present colleagues at Monash University, Dr P. B. Coy, Dr R. Desai, Dr F. J. Hunt, Professor R. J. W. Selleck, Dr G. Solomon and Dr S. Strizower for their advice during the doctoral research on which this book is based. During that period, the support and constructive comments of Professor Don Swift, of the Open University, also proved especially valuable. Then and since, I have greatly appreciated the encouragement of Professor Michael Swift. His support was partly instrumental in making this publication possible.

I am also indebted to Professor P. W. Musgrave for his generous and unfailing advice and conceptual clarification at all stages of the

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original research and subsequent re-editing. The former Dean of the Faculty of Education, Professor S. S. Dunn consistently supported my attempts to adopt ethnographic methodology for school-based research. Professor R. Taft provided valuable insights from his own extensive knowledge of Melbourne Jewry, and helped sharpen my research methodology.

The publication of this book would not have been possible without the financial support of the Faculties of Arts and Education, and of the University. I am especially grateful to Professor G. R. Manton and Professor P. W. Musgrave, the former Dean of Arts and the Dean of Education respectively, for this assistance. Mr Rubin Havin, of the University's Publications Office, provided sound guidance on the preparation of the final manuscript draft.

Many members of the Jewish community have contributed information and advice. In particular, I wish to thank Dr S. Billigheimer, philosopher and scholar, for his kindly hospitality and many opportunities to discuss Chassidism and Orthodox Judaism. Dr and Mrs A. M. Hasofer also gave me invaluable advice. Mr M. F. Klarberg read sections of the thesis, and provided constructive comments based on his own research into Yiddish schools in Melbourne. Mr W. M. Lippmann and officers of the Jewish Welfare Society gave freely of their time and advice. I wish to thank the Editor of *The Age*, the Editor of *The Australian Jewish News*, and Mr S. Cylich for their kind permission to reproduce the photographs attributed to them in the list of plates.

No list of acknowledgments would be complete without reference to the Principal, staff and boys of the school as it was in 1969–70. Their participation in its life is the raw material for this book. It is as much a small tribute to those who are endeavouring to preserve *Yiddishkeit* in an indifferent and occasionally hostile world, as it is an attempt to apply social science to the analysis of a unique educational institution, from which we may derive useful principles to understand education in a multi-ethnic society.

Monash University,
Melbourne, 1978

Brian M. Bullivant

A Note on Literary Style

Following anthropological convention, this account is written in the 'ethnographic present', except where the use of the past tense is both logically and stylistically warranted, as in historical analysis of the history of Chassidism and the value orientations of the two traditions in the school. The transliteration of Hebrew and Yiddish presents orthographic problems, as there are several ways of writing anglicized versions of these languages. It has not been possible to be absolutely consistent in the spelling, as different versions appear even in such literature as that issued to parents of boys at the school, where one might have expected consistency. In such cases, the original versions have been retained. This practice has also been adopted for words quoted from literary sources, even where they conflict with another version as used at the school. Because of their different backgrounds, some boys used different pronunciations of common terms, and these have been represented as spoken. They are primary data and, as such, should be recorded faithfully.

For other terms I have adopted a number of conventions. The Ashkenazic (Eastern European) spelling is used and not the Sephardic (Mediterranean) version. Hebrew and Yiddish words are written phonetically to assist pronunciation, e.g. *shul* (Yidd., pronounced 'shool') rather than *schul* (Yidd.) to avoid confusion with the English 'school' and its *sk* pronunciation. The Hebrew *th* is pronounced *s*. Thus I have written *Succos* for *Succoth*. Consistency has been abandoned where writing a term as pronounced at the school would produce a clumsy departure from the accepted and familiar spelling, e.g. *Rosh Hashanah*.

One Hebrew and Yiddish sound needs special mention. This is designated by phoneticists as *kh*, as in the Scottish *loch* or the German *ach*. This is a combination of the glottal stop of *k* immediately followed by an aspired *h*. I have used *ch* to indicate this sound rather than *kh*, because *k* might confuse the English reader into producing the hard sound. In addition, *ch* appears in so much Chassidic literature that a departure from this form seems unwarranted. Inconsistencies in spelling may be noted. These arise from using Yiddish or Hebrew inter-

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changeably, or where a quoted passage adopts a different style from that employed throughout the book.

Biblical, Talmudic and related rabbinical citations generally follow the style used in *The Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Religion* (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965). The former are set out conventionally in abbreviated Roman type. Sub-divisions of the Talmud (orders, tractates, chapters) are abbreviated in italics. Talmud is the comprehensive term usually employed for the Mishnah and Gemara. It is a vast compilation of the discussion, commentary, and interpretation of the Written Law, i.e. Scripture (*Torah*), which developed in the scholarly academies over the eight centuries since the time of Moses. The Mishnah (Heb. 'teaching') is more of a textbook than a code and gives the essence of the Oral Law (*Halachah*) in six orders (Heb. *sedarim*). Other material was collected in a supplementary work, *Tosephta* (Heb. 'supplement'). The Gemara (Heb. 'completion') is the complement to the Mishnah and records in orders, tractates and chapters the discussion focused on it.

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Introduction

The Force of Tradition in Education

To the casual passer-by there is little about the yellow sandstone building fronting a busy suburban thoroughfare to suggest that at its rear there is a small Jewish boys day-school with a historical background stretching back several thousand years. The name of the school appears on the front of the building in Hebrew and English, but only a Jew would appreciate its full meaning. Even this would be unlikely unless he were Orthodox, for it signifies a tradition of scholarship and learning that originated in the great Jewish academies (*yeshivot*) in Babylonia during the second century of the Common Era. Of more immediate relevance for the school is the flowering of this scholarship that occurred in Eastern European *yeshivot* between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries until their collapse during the Nazi holocaust. But the tradition was not extinguished, and Lubavitcher School is one of some two hundred academies elsewhere around the world where intense Jewish scholarship still flourishes.

There is another side to the school which is even less apparent, as it lacks the spacious grounds and equipment commonly associated with independent or public schools in Australia. Like many of these, Lubavitcher School provides a program of 'secular' learning in response to the demands of its supporting community. This provision is rooted in a different and far less ancient scholastic tradition stemming from British, Arnoldian roots with a leavening of Scottish influence. This gives a distinguishable 'tone' to the school's more secular activities. In combination with the tradition of Jewish scholarship, the net result is to bring together in Lubavitcher School all the ingredients that make for a powerhouse of learning and a subject for ethnographic research that is not duplicated anywhere else in Australia.

The role of tradition and values

The role of the two traditions in the school is an illustration of the common view that to fully understand the characteristics of a social group

and its culture one must take account of the group's historical past working in the present. The Great Tradition of Chassidic Judaism and the academic tradition of the independent school system are not only of historical interest, but guide the working of the school in virtually every aspect. This is more the case in its religious, solely Jewish activities but still very much so in its secular work.

It is hardly surprising that this should be the case. In most societies which have adopted a Western-type education system, schooling is the basic way of putting into operation one of their most fundamental cultural institutions. For any socio-cultural group to survive beyond the short term, it is essential that each new generation be inducted into both the action systems through which the group functions, and the cultural patterns that program the action systems. This entails the transmission of the group's culture: to the layman, education; more technically, enculturation.

Traditions and values are involved in schooling and education in at least two ways. They firstly form part of the 'content' of the culture which is transmitted in the enculturation process. This idea is inherent in the view of culture adopted. It can be thought of as a patterned system of symbolically and extra-symbolically communicated and interdependent knowledge and conceptions about the technology and skills, customary behaviours, values, beliefs and attitudes that a society has evolved from the past, and progressively modifies to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence. The Gestalt-like combination of the elements forming culture derives its unique character from the society's 'world-view'. This can be conceptualized as a body of value orientations which are 'broad-gauge propositions concerning what people feel positively about: they influence both the means and ends of striving' (Honigmann, 1967: 78).

Value orientations have their basis in the problems posed by three types of environment. The first is the natural or geographical environment with which man interacts through his technology and skills. The second is the social environment, comprising individuals and other social groups. The third is more speculative, but may be termed the 'metaphysical environment'. It comprises other-worldly forces and unexplained natural and supernatural phenomena. Religious belief-systems and similar metaphysical explanations are one outcome of trying to cope with this environment in man's apparently innate need to impose order and meaning on the cosmos.

The problems posed by these three types of environment are tackled in different ways by each socio-cultural group, despite the fact that the types of problems or dilemmas are fundamentally similar. This enables the social scientist to devise a typology of value orientations which accounts for all the dilemmas conceptually, and provides a framework for analysing the bodies of knowledge and conceptions basic to a group's culture in order to establish its unique combination of 'broad-gauge propositions'.

Man strives to understand and give meaning to the origins, nature and super-nature of the cosmos, its power sources, and how he should stand in relation to them. The meanings man has put forward to establish the **man-universe orientation** have ranged from religious propositions such as monotheism and pantheism to irreligious or atheistic propositions such as those in Marxist ideology or the 'big-bang' theory of modern astro-physics. Man adopts a certain commitment to nature and its biotic resources—the natural component of his environment—through a **man-nature orientation**. It is possible to find in the world a wide range of the meanings which this area of human concern has for social groups. They range from the outrightly exploitative to the conservative, which can extend to the almost sacred, symbiotic relationship of the traditional Australian Aborigine to the land.

Meanings attributed to living and working with others in the social group generate further value orientations. These are an inevitable consequence of the social nature of man. The nature of group living, together with the preferences and objectives associated with its basic institutions and patterns of social relations constitute a **man-community orientation**. Human groups also have preferred forms of activity, striving and achievement, and attribute a variety of meanings to these in a **man-activity orientation**.

Man occupies a niche in time and geographical space. The former can be viewed on a cosmic scale or on a micro-scale. For instance, a group can be future-oriented on the cosmic scale, looking forward to a millenium. Another group can be past-oriented, drawing heavily and almost exclusively upon tradition to inform and guide activity in the present. But both groups have preferred ways of devoting time to activity on the micro-scale. Both scales of meaning attributed to time constitute a **man-time orientation**. Man also attributes meaning to, and shares preference for, a certain arrangement of his man-made habitat. This can be termed a **man-habitat orientation**.

The recognized difficulty of identifying value orientations during field-work can be overcome by adopting the approach of Thompson and Hostetler (1970). Using a basically similar typology of value orientations, they analysed the 'charter' of religious beliefs which constitutes the Hutterian 'confession of faith' subscribed to by this group of communities in North America. Their analysis enabled them to predict *a priori* the 'ideal' world-view that motivates the cultural 'design for living' adopted by these groups. As a subsequent study showed, they do indeed adopt a lifestyle and culture that are almost literally ruled by the Holy Book.

Value orientations, values and traditions are also involved in the way schooling is organized. Because of the enculturation imperative, their transmission along with a group's valued knowledge cannot be left to chance. The school can be thought of as an enculturation matrix, in the *Oxford English Dictionary* sense of a 'place in which a thing is developed'. The 'thing' is the child. As the prime agency of the Western world, commissioned by socio-cultural groups to transmit their culture to each new generation, the organization and operation of the school as enculturation matrix must reflect the values and traditions on which the cultures are founded. In a very real sense, a school is an example of the 'social organization of tradition'. Its architecture, artifacts and other symbolic features are the 'cultural media' for the tradition (Redfield, 1956 : 56). The knowledge transmitted through the curriculum, the time-tabling, selection and functions of the staff and their daily interactions with pupils all have roots in the traditions and values of the socio-cultural group the school serves. It cannot be otherwise, if the group wishes to survive. Traditions and values are also passed on through all the subtle patterns of the culture to which a child is constantly exposed. These include the dress, behavioural styles, modes of speech, manners and similar features of people in the group, the tools and implements they use, together with a whole host of other man-made features such as buildings, use of space and so on.

The Jews and Jewishness have survived uncounted attempts to destroy their culture for over two millenia. One suspects that this is very largely due to the influence of systematic education through schools and other enculturation matrices programmed by deep-rooted Jewish values and traditions. Where these have been able to flourish unimpeded, as in the Eastern European *yeshivot*, the culture has

been able to survive unchallenged, since in such circumstances only one coherent set of cultural meanings is transmitted to the child.

In the case of Lubavitcher School, however, the transmission of the Jewish 'design for living' does not go unchallenged. Both the pupils and their parents must live in a wider, non-Jewish society in which the values and value orientations are vague and largely uncodified. But even in this instance we can establish some of their characteristics through an analysis of the literature relating to the Australian society and education system in general and, within it, the particular emphasis of the academic, Arnoldian tradition on which much of the independent school education is moulded.

Whether this academic tradition is actively in competition with the Great Tradition remains to be established in this book. However, it is inevitable that they are at least implicitly, if not explicitly, at odds with each other. Lubavitcher School endeavours to prepare boys for roles in an advanced, industrial society and culture. At the same time, it propounds a world-view of considerable historical antiquity, which is still held by Orthodox Jews to provide a valid and comprehensive design for living in the present. The inherent contradiction can be expected to produce in the boys conflicting emotional attachments, which will affect their attempts to come to terms with both traditions.

This book is an attempt to explore the many reasons for and outcomes of this dilemma, which is inherent in the nature of tradition. People are free to evaluate what tradition offers, to assess the worth of transmitted meanings and to accept, modify and reject them as they choose. Tradition is not inflexible. Like all cultural meanings, it can be both mastered *and* manipulated, before being incorporated into an individual's view of his life-world (Smolicz, 1974*b*). This is the essential problem facing boys at Lubavitcher School.

Part 1
The Roots of Tradition

In a civilization there is a great tradition of the reflective few, and there is a little tradition of the largely unreflective many. The great tradition is cultivated in schools or temples; the little tradition works itself out and keeps itself going in the lives of the unlettered in their village communities. The tradition of the philosopher, theologian, and literary man is a tradition consciously cultivated and handed down: that of the little people is for the most part taken for granted and not submitted to much scrutiny or considered refinement and improvement.

Robert Redfield

I

The Great Tradition of Chassidic Judaism

The first tradition providing the ideology of Lubavitcher School, in order of time and priority given to it, is the Great Tradition of Chassidic Judaism. In its pure form, this originated in biblical times and is a

> body of religious beliefs and practices which guided every facet of society, provided guidance for every experience in life and completely united its adherents in a 'moral community' (Medding, 1968 : 11).

Since becoming established, the Great Tradition has been nurtured and augmented progressively over succeeding centuries by eminent literati —those responsible for fostering and maintaining a great tradition (Singer, 1969 : 107). Of central importance in the history of the school have been those literati who are adherents of the Lubavitcher Movement.[1] This is a branch of Judaism with its headquarters in New York. Alternatively known as the *Chabad* tradition[2], it is the foremost among a number of groups fostering Chassidism, a pietist movement which originated among Jews in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century C.E.[3]

The origins of the Lubavitcher Movement

The beginnings of Chassidism

Tradition has it that Chassidism was founded by Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov (the *BeSHT*) born in Okup, a small town on the borders of

1. Lubavitcher—after the town of Lubavitch in Lithuania, which was the centre of the movement for 102 years prior to its dispersal under Russian persecutions.
2. *Chabad* is an acrostic for *ch*ochma—wisdom or concept, *b*ina—understanding, and *d*aas—knowledge, concentration, depth of carrying the idea to its conclusion (Schneersohn, 1965 : 7).
3. The spelling adopted for Chassidism follows that used in publications from Lubavitcher Headquarters. Alternative spellings are found in the literature—Has(s)idism, Chasidism. C.E.—Common Era, B.C.E.—Before the Common Era; these refer to the periods designated by A.D. and B.C. respectively in the Christian tradition.

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Volhynia and Podolia.[4] Followers of the movement were termed the *Chassidim* (sing. *Chassid*) or 'Pious Ones'. The adoption of the term stressed the keynote of the Baal Shem's teachings: zeal, prayerful devotion, and humility to God. Chassidism appealed strongly to the feelings and emotions. It thus developed as a way of escape for a simple, ignorant peasantry suffering from the despair and degradation arising out of the social and economic stagnation following the savage and barbaric Cossack persecutions under Chmielnicki in 1648.

The rapid spread of Chassidism was due as much to its appeal to the masses as to the 'extraordinary galaxy of saint-mystics, veritable human dynamos, it produced during the first fifty years of its existence' (Epstein, 1959 : 274–75). These added to, and in some cases amended, the original teachings of the Baal Shem. They also gave rise to the institution of the *Zaddik*, a concept originated by Rabbi Dov Baer, the *Maggid* of Meseritz, who was the *BeSHT*'s foremost disciple and ultimately his successor (Table 1).[5]

Chassidism, however, aroused intense opposition from opponents or *Mitnagdim*.[6] These were particularly strong in Lithuania, centring on Vilna, where lived Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon, the *Vilna Gaon*, a fanatical opponent of the movement.[7] However, this opposition did little to check the growth of the movement, although it did lead Chassidim to lessen some of the more extreme aspects of the *Zaddik* cult and

> accord to the knowledge of Torah its proper and rightful place. In this way, Chassidism, without losing any of its peculiar warmth and enthusiasm, became one of the major pillars of support of Rabbinism and, at the same time, one of its finest and richest products (Epstein, 1959 : 281).

Elements of Chassidic ideology

In essence, Chassidism represents a fusion of *Kabbalah* and Rabbinism. The former is the body of Jewish mystical literature dealing with the

4. Baal Shem Tov (Heb.)—'Master of the Good Name', abbreviated to *BeSHT*.
5. *Zaddik* (Heb.)—'the perfectly righteous'. *Maggid*, plur. *Maggidim* (Heb.) 'preacher', 'speaker'.
6. *Mitnagdim* (Heb.)—'opponents'; anti-Chassidism.
7. *Gaon* (Heb.)—'Majesty', 'Genius'. Title originally given to the chief of the rabbinical academy in Babylon. Outstanding scholar.

supernatural world with which man is linked. Man may speculate about the nature of the spiritual world, including the Divinity, and its relations with this world, though not in the Christian sense of eschatological speculation about the world-to-come. 'The end of the Law is obedience', not speculation.

Rabbinism as it developed in the Talmudic Era and continued in the Middle Ages, on the other hand, provided a necessary balance against any excesses in Jewish mysticism and rational philosophy.[8] Rabbinism was concerned to

> provide clear definitions of norms of action for every new situation and circumstance, and thus to control and shape the existence of the individual and the community from the most intimate and sacred details to the wholly external and secular (*ibid.*: 252).

Chassidism combined the legalistic emphasis of Rabbinism with its own, unique interpretation of Kabbalistic doctrine concerning the Divine Omnipresence. The result enabled Chassidim to see God's presence in everything, so that earthly things such as the functions and appetites of the senses became elevated to the service of God. This was allied to a strong belief in the power of prayer as the ideal means of communion with God. However the prayer is recited with an

> exalted joy and in a state of ecstatic fervour (*hithlahabuth*) in which man forgets self and all his surroundings and concentrates all his thoughts and feelings on union with God (*ibid.*: 272).

The Chassidic lifestyle derives from this fusion of mystical reinterpretation and belief in prayer. Strong bodily movements, swaying, loud chanting, and dancing were used at times to induce a state of ecstasy, though some later Chassidic rabbis frowned upon such excesses, and held that controlled prayer was the only proper way of communing with God. A certain euphoria also spread to the elements of physical living. As they too were a means of serving God, they should be carried out zestfully but in moderation: eating, drinking and being at all times joyful, avoiding sadness as much as possible.

8. The Talmudic Era—a period of some thousand years from the time of Ezra to the end of the fifth century of the Common Era (Epstein, 1959 : 132).

Table 1. The Founders of General Chassidism and the Heads of Chabad

The Founder of Chassidism
Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov
Elul 18, 5458–*Sivan* 6, 5520
(1698–1760)

Successor
Rabbi Dovber of Meseritz
(Date of birth unknown)–*Kislev* 19, 5533
(?–1772)

Founder of Chabad
Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi
Elul 18, 5505–*Teveth* 24, 5573
(1745–1812)

Second Generation
Rabbi Dovber
(the son of Rabbi Shneur Zalman)
Kislev 9, 5534–*Kislev* 9, 5588
(1773–1827)

Third Generation
Rabbi Menachem Mendel
(grandson of Rabbi Shneur Zalman; son-in-law of Rabbi Dovber)
Elul 29, 5549–*Nissan* 13, 5626
(1789–1866)

Fourth Generation
Rabbi Shmuel
(son of Rabbi Menachem Mendel)
Iyar 2, 5594–*Tishrei* 13, 5643
(1834–1882)

Fifth Generation
Rabbi Sholom Dovber
(son of Rabbi Shmuel)
Cheshvan 20, 5621–*Nissan* 2, 5680
(1860–1920)

Sixth Generation
Rabbi Joseph Isaac Schneersohn
(son of Rabbi Sholom Dovber)
Tammuz 12, 5640–*Shevat* 10, 5710
(1880–1950)

Seventh Generation
Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson
(sixth in direct paternal line from Rabbi Menachem Mendel;
son-in-law of Rabbi Joseph Isaac)
Born *Nissan* 11, 5662 (1902)

(Source: Mindel, 1956 : ix)

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These aspects combined in a total philosophy in which there was a strong social ethic, deep concern and love for one's fellow men, all infused with a mystical and emotional quality.

The leaders and literati of Chassidism

The mystical element in Chassidism was the basis for the development of Rabbi Dov Baer's concept of *Zaddik*, 'the perfectly righteous person', into an institution which became one of the movement's most distinctive features, the 'Zaddik cult'. The *Zaddik*'s function was to concentrate on communion with God in prayer and supplication for favours in both everyday and spiritual matters on behalf of ordinary men. These cannot give their undivided attention to such a lengthy task due to the distractions of making a living.

The *Zaddik*'s 'court', composed of intensely loyal Chassidim, was a unique communal life of intense devotion and spiritual fervour, which reached its peak during the Sabbath and the Festivals and Holy Days of Judaism. At these times the *Zaddik* would reach heights of exalted worship and prayer in which his ecstatic Chassidim would share. They would join him at a meeting (Yidd. *farbrengen*) around the communal dining table and hear him read and expound sacred texts. They would also sing mystic hymns, Chassidic chants, and melodies after him, and bask in his spiritual effulgence. Such 'courts' survive to this day, in those parts of the world where Chassidim live, in the form of the Rebbe's house or *stiebel*.[9]

Literati and leaders of the Lubavitcher Movement

Although it is held that some *Zaddikim* did not need to possess intellectual capacity and attainments to attract adherents, many were in fact men of genius, as well as having the essential charisma which drew Chassidim to them. Both qualities were combined in the person of Rabbi Schneur Zalman ('The Old Rabbi') of Liadi (1745–1812), one of Dov Baer's many disciples, and the 'philosopher of Chassidism' and founder of *Chabad*.

9. *Rebbe* (Yidd.)—'teacher'; title given to a learned man. Usual title of a Chassidic leader, coming to replace the older term *Zaddik*. *Stiebel* (Yidd.)—'a little house', 'conventicle'.

Chabad lays less stress on the emotional tendency of Chassidism, which was a feature of Dov Baer's court at Meseritz, in favour of an intellectual approach attaching great importance to the study of the Talmud in the rabbinical tradition. The concept of the *Zaddik*, as a form of mediator between man and God, miracle worker and charismatic mystic, is replaced by the idea of the *rebbe*, who is respected for his great scholarship and knowledge of *Torah*.

Many features of Chassidism are retained in *Chabad*, however: ecstatic attitude towards prayer, the Chassidic communal life centred on a venerated *rebbe*, Chassidic songs and melodies, which are of great importance in *Chabad*, and include in their number a wordless melody (Heb. *niggun*) composed, among other songs, by Rabbi Schneur Zalman himself. *Chabad*, like much of Chassidism, is firmly based on *Halachah*, even going beyond it in rigorous observance of ritual and ceremonial. One feature of this is the performance of frequent ablutions, especially before prayers and meals.

The *Chabad* dynasty was carried on by Rabbi Schneur Zalman's successors. In the sixth generation came Rabbi Joseph Isaac Schneersohn (1880–1950), the penultimate Lubavitcher *Rebbe*.[10] In 1920 he accepted leadership of the *Chabad* hierarchy on the death of his father. There followed a period of intense activity in which the foundation of *yeshivot*, or rabbinical academies, to spread the influence of *Chabad*, was a major achievement. As a result of his steadfast leadership of Russian Jewry in the face of government persecution and secret police denunciation, he was imprisoned several times and finally fled to Riga in Latvia. After moving to several other centres, he transferred to America in 1940.

The present leader of *Chabad* Chassidism is Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the son-in-law of Rabbi Joseph Isaac, whose 'court' is in Brooklyn, New York. Under his direction, the Lubavitcher Movement, as it is now generally known, has become 'one of the most intense religious brotherhoods in the modern world' (Epstein, 1959 : 281). Highly organized on modern lines, with its own publishing facilities, it supports a growing network of schools, and trains 'missionary-

10. Chassidic leaders are commonly referred to by the name of the town where they established courts—thus the 'Gerer Rabbi' (Rabbi of Ger), the 'Lubavitcher Rabbi' (Rabbi of Lubavitch). See Table 1.

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mystics'. As a form of 'outreach technique', these are sent around America and to Jewish communities in other parts of the world to encourage young Jews to turn to religious life and practice.

Origins and foundation of the school

The origins of the Lubavitcher Movement in Australia can be traced to the patriarchal head of a large family who established a farm in the Shepparton district of Victoria in the mid-1920s. His sons became influential members of the Lubavitcher and other Orthodox congregations in Melbourne. One has been President of the School Council for a number of years.

Following the pattern which established the movement in America after the Second World War, the father was instrumental in assisting with the rescue of immigrants from Eastern Europe, among whom were two Lubavitcher rabbis. These were helped to settle in Melbourne, along with others who were gradually attracted to the area. One of the rabbis, later to become the Director of the Rabbinical College or *Yeshivah Gedolah*, took one or two pupils, as is the Orthodox tradition, in a small house in an inner suburb of Melbourne. Gradually a small group of teachers got together there to establish a formal Jewish school. This transferred to a private house on the present site of the school, where primary grades alone were taught. These gradually expanded, although in the late 1950s the size of the school still only took in Grades 1–4.

In this instance, the school was not set up at the direct instigation of the Lubavitcher Rebbe but gradually grew up around a group of Lubavitcher adherents. The school presented its first matriculation students in 1965—an accepted sign of a school's 'arrival' on the education scene. The Australian Rabbinical College was founded in 1967 around a nucleus of the first six American rabbinical students sent by the Lubavitcher Rebbe. It attracts post-matriculation students who wish to advance their Jewish studies. Some choose to study there for a year or two before proceeding to university in some cases, or into outside occupations. A small number study as the basis for further training in the Rabbinical College as a prerequisite of becoming rabbis.

Value orientations of the Great Tradition

Sources of the value orientations and values which provide the 'core meanings' of the Great Tradition comprise a vast compilation of material or 'charter' dating from biblical times. Content analysis presents formidable problems, not the least of which is that

> there is no monolithic system of Jewish values but a series of complex applications of Jewish truth in which the more subtle distinctions and shades of meaning were debated at length by the best Jewish intellects (Jacobs, 1960 : 9).

The rigour of their analysis is conveyed by the Talmudic Hebrew term *pardes*. This refers to the initial letters of four types of biblical exegesis of increasing levels of depth and sophistication: *peshat* (literal meaning), *remez* (veiled allusion), *derash* (homiletic interpretation), and *sod* (esoteric significance).

In the light of this tradition, it is necessary to recognize that any analysis of Judaic value orientations and values can only approximate a systematic review, and must necessarily be selective and restricted to the more superficial levels of *peshat* and *remez*. No review can claim to set out an authoritative formulation of the tenets of the Jewish faith, as such dogmatics are alien to Judaism. While not claiming to be in any way comprehensive, the summary attempted below tries to systematize a number of the more fundamental values, not in a way that an Orthodox Jew might do so, but for heuristic purposes and subsequent analysis of the school's social organization of tradition. As primary sources, I have taken the Pentateuch, supplemented by the Talmud, as codified in the *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch* or *Code of Jewish Law* (Ganzfried, 1961), together with related Lubavitcher exegesis.[11]

Man-universe orientation

The whole universe, its 'frame and furniture', and known realm of existence, comprising the visible world in its two parts—that which is above (heaven) and that which is below (earth)—is conceived as having

11. Two editions of the Pentateuch are used: *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs* Second Edition, Soncino Press, (Hertz, 1967); and *The Pentateuch with Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth, and Rashi's Commentary*, trans. M. Rosenbaum & A. M. Silbermann. The Hebrew edition of the latter is used by boys at the school.

been created out of nothing (*ex nihilo*) by a single power source, a deity termed God (Heb. *Elohim*). 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth' (Gen. 1 : 1).

Creation is conceived as being continuous, rather than a single act of God. This is an interpretation of Scripture: 'And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; because that in it He rested from all His work which God in creating had made' (Gen. 2 : 3). The teachings of *Chabad* stress the *continuous* nature of Creation. It is also featured in the Liturgy associated with the Blessings before the *Shema*: '. . . and in thy goodness renewest the creation every day continually'.[12]

God is Omnipresent. The *Shechinah* or Divine Presence is both immanent in creation and manifest in the life of man 'dwelling' in the midst of Israel (Exod. 25 : 8, 33 : 13–14; Lev. 16 : 16). 'There is no place without *Shechinah*' (Midrash *Exod. Rab.* ii, 9).[13] God is Omnipotent. The name *Shaddai*, 'Almighty', is one of the Thirteen Attributes of God (Exod. 34 : 6), and receives frequent mention throughout the Bible (e.g. Gen. 17 : 1, 35 : 4; Exod. 9 : 16; Deut. 9 : 29). God is conceived to be Unity in both Scripture (Deut. 6 : 4) and Liturgy. The *Shema*, 'Hear, O Israel: The Lord Our God, the Lord is One', is a clear, unequivocal statement of the ethical monotheism first conceived of by Abraham (Gen. 12 : 1–4).

A number of the Attributes of God are of such fundamental importance in the *Torah* that they can be considered as transcendental values pervading all value orientations. The Attributes are Holiness (Heb. *kadosh*), Compassion (Heb. *rahamim*), Justice and Mercy. In rabbinical literature, the most common epithet for God is 'The Holy One, blessed be He' (Heb. *Hakadosh Baruch Hu*). 'Ye shall be holy' is the dominant theme in Leviticus 19, the so-called 'Chapter of Holiness'. God is also referred to as the Compassionate One, and man is enjoined to imitate this Attribute. 'As God is compassionate, be thou compassionate' (Midrash *Siphrei Ekev* 89). Closely related is the designation of the Eternal as 'merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth' (Exod. 34 : 6).

12. *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, p. 109.

13. *Shechinah* (Heb.—'indwelling') is derived from the verb 'to dwell'. *Midrash* (Heb.)—'to inquire'; the body of literature which interprets Scripture to extract its full implications and meanings.

The relationship of man to the power source is firstly that of a being created by God. 'And God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them' (Gen. 1 : 27). Man is made in the image—'in the type that was specially made for him' (Rashi)—and after the likeness of God. Man owes obedience to God on a number of grounds. He is a child of God, 'for in the image of God made He man' (Gen. 9 : 6). For the Jewish people, the children of Israel, this is reinforced by a Covenant relationship with God. They are taught to consider themselves the children of God, owing Him unquestioned obedience and service (Deut. 14 : 1, 32 : 5). As Rabbi Akiba said, 'Blessed are Israel in that they were called children of God' (*Avot* 3 : 18). A related notion is that of divine sonship. Man (Israel) is the son of God.

Coupled with the concept of divine sonship is the service the children of Israel owe to God. 'For unto Me the children of Israel are servants; they are My servants whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; I am the Lord your God' (Lev. 25 : 55). This implies that God has prior claim on the children of Israel—'My (God's) document (deed of purchase) is of an earlier date' (Rashi). Thus an Israelite can never be more than nominally a slave to any human master (Hertz, 1967 : 537, f.n. 4). Service of God is the highest honour. Both as servants and sons of God, the Jewish people are called upon to act as God's witnesses before all nations (Is. 43 : 10–12).

Closely related is the concept of Jews as the chosen people which is referred to frequently in the Bible and Jewish Liturgy.

> For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God, and the Lord has chosen thee to be His own treasure out of all peoples that are upon the face of the earth (Deut. 14 : 2).

Relationships between man and God are based on fear, i.e. awe, which is regarded as the basis of Jewish religious awareness. Israel is repeatedly exhorted in the Pentateuch to fear God: 'And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God' (Deut. 10 : 12). Coupled with awe is love of God, which is held to be a supreme religious value. 'And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might' (Deut. 6 : 5). Later rabbinical thinking further developed the idea,

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adding mystical connotations in the Middle Ages. 'According to the Talmud the highest form of service of God is "service out of love" as contrasted with "service out of fear" (*Ned.* 31a)' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965 : 242). Love leads man to cleave to God (Heb. *devekut*), imitating His attributes of Mercy and Kindness (*ibid.*: 114).

Man-nature orientation

Man has dominion over all living things on earth, and has been given the task of replenishing and subduing it (Gen. 1 : 27–30). Originally man is placed on a level with cattle and beasts in respect of eating similar food. When the era of the Sons of Noah began, man was permitted to eat meat (Rashi on Gen. 1:30). 'Every moving thing that liveth shall be for food for you; as the green herb have I given you all' (Gen. 9 : 3).

Man is not granted unbridled dominion over nature, as the principle of righteousness governs both animate and inanimate creation. His conduct towards animals in particular is subject to numerous laws designed to protect them against pain, disease, hunger and overwork (e.g. Exod. 23 : 5; Deut. 22 : 4–7, 25 : 4). 'The righteous man regardeth the life of his beast' (Prov. 12 : 10). The prohibition against consuming the blood of animal flesh—'Only flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat' (Gen. 9 : 4)—has been the basis for detailed laws in the Talmud regarding the ritual slaughter (Heb. *Shechitah*) and preparation of meat. The former is designed, among other things, to minimize pain to the slain animal.

Jewish dietary laws are regarded by the rabbis to lead to self-discipline and obedience to God, as a way of attaining holiness (Lev. 11 : 44–45). Thus certain kinds of animals are declared clean and fit for human consumption (*kosher*) and others unclean and unfit. Their consumption is forbidden (*terephah*). The twofold division is first established in the story of Noah, and the list of clean and unclean animals is elaborated in considerable detail in later Books of the Bible (Gen. 7 : 2 ; Lev. 11 : 1–47; Deut. 14 : 3–25).

Some agrarian produce is subject to laws designed to protect certain species. For instance, there is a biblical prohibition (Deut. 20 : 19–20) against destroying fruit-bearing trees (Heb. *Bal Tashchit* 'do not destroy'), which was later extended in the Talmud to cover all senseless

destruction or waste. It is particularly forbidden to damage or waste food, especially bread.

Man is thus constrained in numerous ways in his relationships with nature and its biotic resources. He is able to use his powers and intellect to overcome those that threaten him.

> Through these endeavours man attains the fulness of his powers. In the language of the rabbis, he becomes a co-worker with God (Heb. *Shutaph l'hakkadosh baruch hu*) in the on-going tasks of creation (Cohon, 1962 : 172).

Man-community orientation

The relationship of man to God imparts a special quality to his relationship to fellow man. A single ethical program prevails, based on the motive of *imitatio dei* with its dominant theme 'Ye shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy' (Lev. 19 : 2). This transcendental value welds together the religious and moral sets of laws the *Torah* prescribes, and is the root of all Jewish ethics.

Imitatio dei is further implied by the biblical commandment to 'cleave' to God (Deut. 10 : 20, 13 : 5). Literal observance is impossible but, as elaborated by the rabbis, this means cleaving to God's qualities. In the words of the prophet Micah:

> It hath been told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee: only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God (Mic. 6 : 8).

The biblical command 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lev. 19 : 18) is the 'Golden Rule' in Judaism, which transcends and embraces all other ethical demands. It was taken up, commented on, and elaborated by the rabbis. Hillel summarized the intent of the entire *Torah* in the words 'What is hateful unto thee, do not to thy fellow man' (*Sab.* 31a). The rule applies to both Jew and non-Jew of whatever race or creed. 'The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home-born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself' (Lev. 19 : 34; Deut. 10 : 19).

The Golden Rule entails showing benevolence and loving kindness towards others: the 'practice of goodly deeds' (Heb. *gemiluth chasadim*) such as visiting the sick, paying last respects to the dead, and comforting mourners. It also embraces showing courtesy and considerate

behaviour towards all men, irrespective of faith or origin. The closely allied doctrine of forgiveness extended to those who offend is the basis of the Jewish ideal of conduct.

The Golden Rule also embraces charity (Heb. *tzedakah*), one of the three pillars on which the world is based (*Avot* 1 : 2).[14] The practice of giving alms and assistance to the poor through material gifts constitutes man's recognition of the duties of brotherhood towards his fellow-man, and is stressed throughout Scripture (e.g. Exod. 22 : 20–26, 23 : 6–12; Deut. 16 : 11; Is. 58 : 7; Prov. 31 : 20). Said Rabbi Joshua ben Karha, 'he who closes his eye to charity is like an idolator' (*Ket.* 68a; *Tos. Peah* 4 : 20; Midrash *Eccl. Rab.* 7 : 4).

The many manifestations of the Golden Rule, Righteousness, and Justice throughout Scripture imply that man's moral behaviour is a form of group loyalty. 'The ethics of Judaism, therefore, concerns itself not only with the springs and motives of personal behaviour but also with their relations to the community' (Cohon, 1962 : 188). The rabbis emphasize that all Israelites are responsible for one another (*Sab.* 39a; *Sefer Haagadah* IV, 20–22). Said Rabbi Hillel, 'Separate not thyself from the congregation; trust not in thyself until the day of thy death' (*Avot* 2 : 5). The 'whole congregation of Israel' (Heb. *Adas Yisroel*—Exod. 12 : 3; Lev. 19 : 2) is the term used for the community as a religious entity.

Man-activity orientation

As a child of God, man owes duties to his Creator; as a social being, to his fellow-men. Religious observances and ethical conduct are the twin poles of man's activity. Both are governed by the precepts of the *Torah*.

> Mine ordinances shall ye do, and My statutes shall ye keep, to walk therein: I am the Lord your God. Ye shall therefore keep My statutes, and Mine ordinances, which if a man do, he shall live by them: I am the Lord (Lev. 18 : 4 – 5).

Halachah (Heb. 'law') is the authoritative, practical guide to Jewish life and seeks to translate into action the ethical and spiritual dimensions of Judaism. Although fully developed in Talmudic law, it is firmly

14. The other pillars, in the opinion of Simon the Just, are *Torah* and divine service.

rooted in *Torah* and derives its authority therefrom. The duties it enumerates are dictated by faith, and are held to be commandments of God (Heb. *mitzvah*, pl. *mitzvot*). The Jew becomes liable for their performance as soon as he reaches his religious majority at the age of 13 years when he becomes *barmitzvah*, literally 'a son of the commandment'. However, long before then, he is educated into their meaning and demands. Study is itself a *mitzvah* and a pre-requisite for knowing and performing all the *mitzvot*.

To know one's duties to God and fellow-men necessitates that one learns them through regular and continuous study of *Torah*, which Moses commanded as 'an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob' (Deut. 33 : 4). Until the Modern Period, study of the *Torah* (Heb. *Talmud Torah*) in the sense of 'labouring in the *Torah* for its own sake' was considered the most laudable kind of activity, and the ideal type of Jew was the scholar.[15] Study is held to produce a love, respect and great reverence for books.

The primacy of *Talmud Torah* is constantly stressed in biblical and rabbinical literature. 'This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night' (Josh. 1 : 8). *Talmud Torah* is a holy activity and earns reward in the world to come. The great Hillel used to say 'the more Torah, the more life . . . he who has acquired for himself words of Torah, has acquired for himself life in the world to come' (*Avot* 2 : 8).

Closely related to *Talmud Torah* is the great value placed on education, particularly that of children by parents or parental surrogates in obedience to the biblical injunction 'And thou shalt teach them [Commandments] diligently unto thy children' (Deut. 6 : 7). Rabbinical law obligates a father to teach his sons *Torah* as well as a trade.

Provision of elementary education was considered to be of paramount importance. 'And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord and great shall be the peace of thy children' (Is. 54 : 13). The world is 'poised on the breath of schoolchildren' said the rabbis. Elementary education was established very early in Jewish history, and the identity between religion, history and education is fundamental to Jewish

15. The Modern Period—the period which started towards the end of the eighteenth century A.D., associated with the Enlightenment, i.e. the movement which sought to apply the rule of reason rather than dogma, authority and tradition to religion.

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culture. The Talmudic contribution to traditional Jewish education was to ensure that learning would become a major institution and activity for all Jews. The result of both led to the creation of a professional class of scholars and a lesser, but nonetheless important, class of teachers. These became highly respected members of the community.

Education for the Jewish child begins at an early age. Talmudic teaching advocates that as soon as the child can speak, his father should teach him the *Torah*. The first verses that should be taught are Deuteronomy 33 : 4: 'Moses commanded us a law, An inheritance of the congregation of Jacob', and the *Shema* (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 1 : 1). These the young child is made to learn by heart.[16]

Teaching is in Hebrew, so esteemed by the rabbis as 'the language spoken by the angels' (*Hag.* 16a) that it became known as the Holy Tongue.

> When the child begins to speak his father should speak to him in the Holy Tongue . . . and if he does not speak to him in the Holy Tongue . . . it is as though he had buried him (Midrash *Siphrei Ekev* 46).

Not only are such injunctions designed to protect the Holy Tongue but stress the fact that the rabbis invested Hebrew with particular sanctity *per se*.

Practice flowing from knowledge is of decisive importance in Judaism, and thus the rabbis attached the highest value to the unquestioning observance of ceremonial and ritual requirements, with their attendant visible symbols and concrete acts. They are 'practical observances' (Heb. *mitzvot maasiyot*) based on the motives of consecration and obedience to God's service. 'I have set the Lord always before me' (Ps. 16 : 8) is a 'cardinal principle in the Torah' (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch* 1 : 1). Its biblical origin derives from the Sinaitic Covenant:

> And he [Moses] took the book of the covenant and read in the hearing of the people; and they said: 'All that the Lord hath spoken will we do, and obey' (Exod. 24 : 7).

Consecration and a desire for ritual purity, in addition to concern for hygiene, are the dominant motives for carrying out ablutions such

16. The words of the former constitute part of the little child's Morning Prayer, and are a national motto in Israel.

as washing the hands before meals, and after using the lavatory. The same motives apply to the Orthodox practice of washing the hands immediately upon waking, to counter any impurity that might have been contracted during the night (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 1 : 2). 'I will wash my hands in innocency', said the psalmist, 'and I will compass Thy altar, O Lord' (Ps. 26 : 6–7). The face should also be washed and mouth rinsed: 'For in the image of God made He man' (Gen. 9 : 6). The major rite of total immersion in the *mikveh* or ritual bath is an act of purification *par excellence*. It is enjoined upon the pious Jew to practise immersion prior to the onset of Festivals when 'he shall bathe all his flesh in water' (Lev. 15 : 16).

The dietary laws and the act of saying Grace before and after meals also have important consecratory functions. They impart an element of spirituality into the biological act of eating. 'And thou shalt eat and be satisfied, and bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He hath given thee' (Deut. 8 : 10) was taken by the rabbis as the basis for the precept that every meal must be followed by Grace.

The rabbis singled out three *mitzvot maasiyot* with their underlying motive of sanctification, which recall man to his spiritual responsibilities and fealty to God. They are laying on of *tephillin*—phylacteries worn by Jewish males of 13 years and over at the week-day Morning Service (Exod. 13 : 9; *Sanh.* 88b); the *mezuzah* (Heb. 'doorpost'), a small case containing biblical inscriptions on parchment affixed to the doorposts in Jewish homes (Deut. 6 : 9); and the *tzitzit* (Heb. 'fringes'), which are attached to each of the four corners of a garment (Deut. 22 : 12; Num. 15 : 38–40). Nowadays, a special cotton, rectangular undervest is worn, with bunches of fringes or tassels attached to each corner. This is termed the *arba kanphot* (Heb. 'four corners') or *tallit katan* (Heb. 'small *tallit*') to distinguish it from the large, fringed prayer shawl (Heb. *tallit gadol*) which is worn during the Morning and Additional Services on Sabbath and Festivals.

Each of the above *mitzvot*, as in the case of other *mitzvot*, e.g. lighting the Sabbath candles and washing the hands, is accompanied by the appropriate Blessing or Benediction (Heb. *berochah*). It is recited in a standard, unvarying form: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who has sanctified us by His commandments and commanded us . . .' followed by a phrase referring to the

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mitzvah to be performed. Blessings are also said before partaking of any food or drink ('Blessings of Enjoyment'), and on seeing such natural phenomena as lightning, the ocean and a rainbow or on hearing either good or bad news.

The Blessing is the unit of Jewish prayer in both private devotions and congregational worship. The rabbis considered that prayer was implied by the biblical commandment 'to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul' (Deut. 10 : 12). 'What is heart-service?' asked the rabbis (Midrash *Siphra* Deut. 11 : 13), and answered 'Service of the heart is Prayer' (Hertz, 1967 : 792, f.n. 13). Worship, the central pillar of Judaism, is extolled throughout rabbinical literature in maxim and injunction. Great importance was attached to congregational prayer. 'Wherever ten persons pray', says Rabbi Yitzchak, 'the *Shechinah*, the Divine Presence, dwells among them'.

The minutiae of prayer are governed by copious regulations to bring rule and discipline into devotion.[17] However an element of spontaneity should also be permitted. Man should pray only in a devout and reverential frame of mind (*Ber.* 5 : 1). The object of the *tephillin* worn at the week-day Morning Service is to direct the thoughts of the wearer to God, and to the teachings contained in the four paragraphs embodied in the leather cases constituting one component of the *tephillin* (Exod. 13 : 1, 13 : 11; Deut. 6 : 4–9, 11 : 13–21). The Chassidim customarily wear a girdle (Yidd. *gartel*) made of black silk or wool over the long outer garment (Yidd. *kapota*) when at prayer, in strict obedience to the rabbinical injunction that a division should be made between the lower ('profane') part of the body and the upper part. To the Chassidim, the ideal means of communion with God is prayer recited in a state of exalted joy and ecstatic fervour (Heb. *hithlahabuth*). When words fail, Chassidim resort to humming or chanting wordless melodies (Heb. *niggunim*), clapping, and even dancing, for it is said 'And David danced before the Lord with all his might' (II Sam. 6 : 16).

The antithesis of such euphoria, and closely connected with prayer, is fasting in obedience to the command 'ye shall afflict your souls' (Lev. 23 : 27). Fasting is a sign of mourning, expiation and atonement

17. The opening treatise of the Talmud, *Berachoth*, is entirely given over to the subject.

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for one's sins. To the prophets, fasting was associated with righteous conduct and with benevolence (Zech. 708; Is. 58). The rabbis held fasting in high esteem. However, excessive fasting and individual fasting were not favoured by Talmudic Judaism.

God may also be served and His Name sanctified by one's daily labour. The rabbis considered the phrase in the Fourth Commandment (Exod. 20 : 10), 'Six days shalt thou labour', as binding as the phrase, 'but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any manner of work', that follows it (*Mekhilta* Exod. 20 : 9–10). Indolence on week-days is even thought to profane the following Sabbath.

Man-time orientation

On the macro-scale man is part of a Divine order conceived as eternity. God is everlasting (Heb. *Chei-ha-Olamim*), the God of eternity (Is. 40 : 28; Midrash Lev. *Rab.* vi, 6). His Covenant with the descendants of Abraham, Israel, is an everlasting Covenant (Gen. 17 : 7). God's fidelity to it, despite Israel's defections, is eternal. God's Kingdom is eternal. 'The Lord shall reign for ever and ever' (Exod. 15 : 18). 'From everlasting to everlasting Thou art God' (Ps. 90 : 2).

The Divine is the God of history. The great teachers in Israel 'saw in history a continuous revelation of Divine thought and purpose across the abyss of time' (Hertz, 1967 : 936). Jewish history is Divinely-ordered history which began with the Creation *ex nihilo*, received its specific form with the call of Abraham and subsequent biblical events, and will end in the 'World to Come' (Heb. *Olam Ha-ba*). Said Rabbi Jacob, 'This world is like an ante-chamber to the world to come; prepare thyself in the ante-chamber, that thou mayest enter into the hall' (*Avot* 4 : 21).

In the eschatological thinking of the prophets and rabbis, as Epstein points out (1959 : 60), mankind as a whole is seen as

> marching to the transcendental reality of an earthly future, 'when the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea' (Is. 11 : 9).

This doctrine of Messianism postulates the ultimate establishment of the rule of universal righteousness on earth and the restoration of the

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house of David and a reunited Israel. The Messianic hope centres on an 'eschatological king who is to rule over Israel at the end of days' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965 : 259).

If future-oriented Messianism constitutes the goal of social morality, the means to achieve it—knowing God's will and performing the *mitzvot*—are rooted in the biblical past. Man is past-oriented. Moral laws are inculcated by recollecting historical instances of immoral conduct that have led to loss of Divine favour. The Liturgy abounds with references to major historical events from which a moral might be drawn. Remembrance and commemoration of major historical episodes are fundamental to such basic observances as the Festivals of Passover (Heb. *Pesach*), Tabernacles (Heb. *Succos*), Weeks or Pentecost (Heb. *Shavuot*). The Pentateuch and Prophetic writings, the study of which is a *mitzvah*, are the historical record of the Jews, without which Judaism as a religion is incomprehensible. The past and the religion are interdependent. A sense of the past is implicit in the Jewish calendar. Jewish dates are reckoned on a lunisolar basis from the date of creation which the rabbis placed at 3760 B.C.E. Thus the Jew has always before him a subtle reference to an historical event to which he owes his very existence.

On the micro-scale, concern for the proper allocation of time to valued activities is fundamental to Judaism, and finds expression in Scripture and rabbinical literature. Of foremost importance is the Jewish Sabbath, a day set apart from the secular by Divine decree, for rest, consecration to God and the life of the spirit.

> And on the seventh day God finished His work which He had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it; because that in it He rested from all His work which God in creating had made (Gen. 2 : 2–3).

The Jew is commanded to

> Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is a sabbath unto the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any manner of work (Exod. 20 : 8–10).

Variants of the injunction occur in subsequent scriptural passages. The laws detailing the 39 principal types of 'work' forbidden on the Sabbath according to the rabbis occupy a major proportion of the Order *Moed* (Appointed Seasons) in the Mishnah.

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A 24-hour day in Judaism lasts from evening to evening. Thus the Sabbath lasts from nightfall on Friday until nightfall on Saturday. Meticulous rules were laid down by the rabbis to determine the exact time of nightfall. Time-tables are available to Orthodox Jews giving the exact chronological equivalent of this moment, for each day, week and month of the calendar. All other activities on Friday have to be arranged to allow Jews time to get home before sunset to prepare for the rituals in the home with which the Sabbath is greeted. They include the lighting of the Sabbath candles with the appropriate blessing and *Kiddush* (Heb. 'sanctification'), which is a ceremony and prayer to proclaim the holiness of the Sabbath, based on rabbinical interpretation of Exodus 20 : 8, 'Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy'.[18]

Kiddush has its equivalent in the *Havdalah* ceremony (Heb. 'differentiation') and prayer, which is recited at the conclusion of the Sabbath and Festivals to mark the distinction between the sacred day that has ended and the week-day that is beginning. Appropriate phrases in the prayer enumerate the differences between 'holy and profane', between 'light and darkness', and between 'Israel and the gentiles' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965 : 178).

In addition to being a day of rest, the Sabbath illustrates the importance placed on the allocation of time to religious worship, and religious instruction or study. Prayer, and the allocation of time necessary for it, constitute a major man-time orientation. In the Judaic tradition, there are three prescribed times to pray each day. The first is *Shacharis* (Heb. 'Dawn Prayer'), the Morning Prayer, which can be recited at any time from dawn until the first quarter of the day has elapsed. Prior to it, private prayers can be said by the devout immediately on rising. The second is *Minchah* (Heb. 'Offering'), the Afternoon Prayer, which can be said during the period from mid-day until just before sunset. The third is *Maariv* (Heb. 'who brings on the evening twilight'), the Evening Prayer, said during the period between nightfall and the dawn of the following day.

The value placed on devoting time to the performance of the ceremonial laws concerning wearing the *tallit* and putting on *tephillin*

18. *Pes.* 106a: 'Remember it over wine'. *Kiddush* is an abbreviation of the Talmudic phrase *kiddush ha-yom* (Heb.—'sanctification of the day').

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is clearly apparent at the Morning Service. The former is worn around the shoulders and covering the head in obedience to the biblical injunction:

> Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make throughout their generations fringes in the corners of their garments. . . . And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them (Num. 15 : 38–39).

Adult males wear the *tallit*; boys are not required to do so.

All of *barmitzvah* age are expected to take time to lay on *tephillin* (wear phylacteries) during the week-day services. The boxes comprising the *tephillin* are worn, one on the forehead, and one on the upper bicep of the left arm, and are put on after reciting the appropriate Benedictions. *Tephillin*, a symbol of God's Covenant with Israel, are not worn on Sabbaths and Festivals as these are considered to be sufficient reminders in themselves of the Covenant and the events and concepts associated with it. Time must be allocated to other ceremonial observances, particularly the *mezuzah* and the wearing of *tzitzit* during waking hours. *Mitzvot* such as the Benedictions of Enjoyment also require a short period of time, during which man's thoughts are turned towards the Divine.

Allocation of time to study is a necessary condition for the understanding of one's ritual and liturgical duties. The study of the *Torah* (Heb. *Talmud Torah*) is a positive religious duty, held by the rabbis to be more important than ceremonial observances, as these can only be learned through study (*Kidd.* 40b).

Study should be a regular habit. Said Rabbi Shammai, 'Fix a period for the study of the Torah' (*Avot* 1 : 15). Neglect of the *Torah* for a single day leads to further neglect (*Avot* 4 : 11). 'Forsake the Torah a single day, and it will forsake thee two days' (Talmud). The rabbis held that a man should devote all his leisure to study of the *Torah*, giving one third to the Pentateuch, one third to the Mishnah, and one third to Talmud. Idleness and waste of time are abhorred. Even wakeful periods during the night should not be wasted, and should be spent in serious meditation. 'My soul is satisfied . . . when I remember Thee upon my couch, and meditate on Thee in the night-watches' (Ps. 63 : 6 ff.).

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Study is not merely confined to childhood but continues throughout life. The rabbis allocated certain periods of a man's life to defined types of study and other activities (*Avot* 5 : 25):

> He [Rabbi Judah, the son of Tema] used to say, at five years the age is reached for the study of the Scripture, at ten for the study of the Mishna, at thirteen for the fulfilment of the commandments, at fifteen for the study of the Talmud, at eighteen for marriage, at twenty for seeking a livelihood, at thirty for entering into one's full strength, at forty for understanding, at fifty for counsel, at sixty a man attains old age.

Man-habitat orientation

To carry out the values and activities of the Great Tradition, the Jewish community, in common with other religious groups, structures parts of its habitat to reflect the value placed on its institutions. Of central concern is the synagogue building, the architectural embodiment of the synagogue as a social institution.

> The rabbis taught that a synagogue should be erected wherever there existed a Jewish community. Where possible they were built on hills so that they should not be over-looked by other buildings (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965 : 369).

A major architectural feature of the building is the Ark containing the Scrolls of the Law located on the 'eastern wall', that is, the one oriented 'towards Jerusalem'.

Although the synagogue itself can provide a place of instruction and study, traditional Jewish communities constructed a building adjoining the synagogue for higher rabbinical education. Called the *bet midrash* (Heb. 'house of study'), it housed rabbinical texts such as the Mishnah, the Talmud and the Codes, and had a sanctity considered by the rabbis to be greater than that of the synagogue itself (*Ber.* 8a). The *bet midrash* also served as the community's library housing its collection of rabbinical and other books.[19]

The value placed on ritual purity, particularly for women, and the *mitzvah* of the *mikveh*, led to Jewish communities to construct a ritual bathhouse (Heb. *mikv h*—lit., any gathering of waters, Gen. 1 : 10). It

19. The first mention of the *bet midrash* occurs in Ecclesiasticus 51 : 50; also referred to in Proverbs 8 : 34.

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was considered so important by the rabbis as to take precedence over the construction of a synagogue. The synagogue might even be sold to raise the money needed to build a *mikveh*.

Temporary restructuring of the habitat occurs during the Festival of *Succos* (Booths), when it is customary for each Jewish congregation to construct a communal *succah* 'that your generations may know that I made the Children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the Land of Egypt' (Lev. 23 : 42–43). A *succah* must have a minimum of three walls, and must not be more than 20 cubits high. Its roof is constructed of cut vegetation laid over laths and open to the sun.[20] In Western communities, a *succah* is customarily built adjoining the synagogue, and is visited by members of the congregation for light refreshment after services during the Festival. An orthodox Jew builds a *succah* adjoining or close to his own home.

The comprehensive world-view of Chassidic Judaism provides an ideal design for living and 'because motives' for conduct (Schutz, 1964 : 11). These are validated by Divine fiat, and based on biblical literalism. The tradition, therefore, is immutable. There can be no outright challenge to its precepts, but only the possibility of re-interpretation in the rabbinical tradition. The boy is thus inevitably constrained in formulating *his* own views about his life-world. Two further aspects of the world-view influence him. Dietary and other rules constitute a doctrine of separatism insulating the Jewish boy from the Gentile world. This is reinforced by the Judaic view of the ideal man as the scholar, reflecting the veneration given to matters of the mind. Such a view has limited sympathy for those other activities that one takes for granted in a school, such as sport and gymnastics. Secondly, the world view is highly symbolic and metaphorical, as it is based on a metaphysical epistemology. The organizational outcomes of the world-view are the constraints within which a boy spends the majority of his school life.

20. Detailed rules for construction are specified in the sixth Mishnah tractate of *Moed*. See also *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 134–135.

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The Academic Tradition

Second in the amount of time and emphasis given to it in the organization of Lubavitcher School is an academic tradition of basically non-vocational, examination-oriented education. Its values and value orientations stem from a vague Judaeo-Christian ethic common to many Western, industrialized societies. They are nowhere codified in the kind of detail and depth we have seen in the Great Tradition, but remain more at the level of taken-for-granted notions of 'what everybody knows' goes on in independent schools. The result has been to superimpose some of the trappings of the Arnoldian model of public education over a solid core of traditional Jewish scholarly activity. However it is still possible to trace in Lubavitcher School some influences of this grafted tradition, which owes its place more to an accident of time than to deliberate policy.

This historical accident is an inevitable and unintentional consequence of founding a school in the mid-twentieth century period of Australian education. The academic tradition is in large measure a cultural transplant from Britain. Its roots are thus far less ancient than those of the Great Tradition. In Australia's case, they stretch no farther back than the beginning of the nineteenth century. During this period, early private school education was largely classical in content, being based on the intellectual disciplines of Greek, Latin and Mathematics.

The following 30 years saw a sustained challenge to classical studies, through the introduction into independent schools of such 'modern' subjects as English and French, particularly in the short-lived phase of corporate secondary school education which occurred during the early 1830s. This was inaugurated by Scottish headmasters and teachers, and modelled on the public academies and city high schools of Scotland. By 1840,

> a decidedly middle-class type of curriculum had developed in which the humanities were but one group of studies among several, and were themselves as much 'modern' as classical (French, 1959 : 36).

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Despite this, the curriculum was still basically academic in the sense of not offering vocational subjects.

The following phase of developments in the state school systems established between 1872 and 1893 might have been expected to liberalize studies even further. In the outcome, however, this proved not to be the case. Existing alongside non-state, denominational and independent schools, these systems were supposedly 'self-contained, efficient, utilitarian and authoritarian'. In practice, however, 'efficiency was measured by attendance and strict observance of prescribed courses of study. Attainment was measured by public examinations' (Encel, 1970 : 415). When this dual system collapsed, it left a strong tendency for schools to defer to external standards and controlling authorities, which has not been in their best interests. Although the early twentieth century saw the growth of comprehensive systems of state education, with multi-lateral-type high schools offering a choice of several courses, these developments did substantially little to alter the strong habit of deference. Reasons for this must be sought in the second of the academic tradition's roots, the power of the universities.

The role of universities

The challenge to the classical tradition that had taken place in the early 1800s was partly negated by the universities of Sydney and Melbourne. These opened in 1852 and 1855 respectively, and instituted matriculation examinations governed by regulations calculated to reinstate the classics. The large number of 'modern' subjects that had come into the curriculum during the previous three decades was omitted, and schools, perforce, had to curtail their courses accordingly.

> The control of the school curriculum, in the universities' view, was one of their natural rights . . . The schools, indeed, were not being asked to restore Classics to some of their former eminence; they were being directed to do so (French, 1959 : 38).

To counter this control, schools offered 'commerce courses' to non-university aspirants. In time the universities themselves tempered their requirements. For instance, in 1862, the University of Melbourne added French and German to the other 'modern' subjects of English,

History and Geography that had been made subjects of the matriculation examination in 1855. In 1881, the University of Melbourne also added four branches of science to its list of matriculation subjects. Their range and diversity meant that the University of Melbourne matriculation examination became something like the public examinations that universities in other States had established on the lines of the Oxford and Cambridge model in Britain. Despite these departures from classical orthodoxy, the curriculum related to the matriculation examination remained essentially academic.

For small schools there was little alternative. Lack of teachers for non-academic courses resulted in all pupils being drafted into the one matriculation course. Even in the comprehensive-type state high schools, offering a number of courses, a similar trend occurred at a time in the early 1900s when universities were adding 'utilitarian' subjects to the matriculation and public examination list, and dropping subject prerequisites for university entry. Paradoxically, a tendency for academic specialization in schools resulted when universities relaxed the requirement that a foreign language and a branch of mathematics were compulsory for anybody contemplating a university course.

The independent schools reacted to the liberalization of the pre-Second World War period in two ways. They added refinements of the 'classical' and 'commercial' courses devised almost a century earlier and, where big enough, adopted a multi-lateral organization. The latter made slight provision for vocational and technical training, but detailed provision for various kinds of 'professional' courses. As entry to the professions still largely depended on success at the matriculation examination, if not on a university degree, the curricula of the independent schools, by and large, remained academic.

Lubavitcher School's heritage

From such roots flowered the academic heritage of Lubavitcher School. Like others of small size, it had no option but to offer an academic curriculum as mounting vocational subjects was, and still is, beyond its resources. At the secondary level the major, if not exclusive, preoccupation of pupils and lay staff alike is to prepare for the public and

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university examinations in the fifth and sixth years.[1] These are clearly valued as a means to an end, namely, preparing for and gaining access to tertiary education.

The school is not alone in taking such a view. It had been endorsed as late as 1960 by the influential Ramsay Report on Victorian Education. The Committee responsible for the Report remained unconvinced that examinations were undesirable or needed replacement. It strongly recommended the retention of formal examinations and recognized that those at the matriculation level came within the province of the university (Blake, 1973 : 543).

In an analysis of the myths of Australian education, Connell (1970 : 254) has pointed to a

> normal line of progression from primary to secondary school to university [which is] thought to be the natural progression and the desirable aspiration for those who are able to pursue the path.

Unhappily, the same progression has tended to influence pupils, who are not academically able, to pursue the path, so dominant is the preoccupation with getting to the sixth or matriculation year.

A further effect of the examination fixation has been to determine the curriculum, not only at the matriculation year but also during the years prior to it. In order to be eligible to sit for the matriculation examinations, various combinations and groupings of subjects have to be obtained at the fifth year or School Leaving Examination.[2] This in turn has exercised its influence on subjects chosen in the preceding fourth year, and so on down to the previous levels. An inevitable result has been the need for a child to select his subjects at too early an age with an eye to their usefulness as keys to unlock the various doors *en route* to matriculation, and for the teacher to design a great deal of his syllabuses towards the same end. Academic subjects dominate the curriculum. Vocational subjects are rejected.

Prudential elements in the academic tradition

Closely allied to the academic tradition—in Connell's view forming

1. In 1969 these were still the School Leaving and Matriculation Examinations.
2. See *Handbook of Directions and Prescriptions for 1969*, The Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board, Melbourne, 1968, pp. 13–15. The terms 'Directions' and 'Prescriptions' have obvious authoritarian connotations.

a tradition on its own—is the prudential view taken of Australian education particularly by parents and pupils. This element is especially marked in the Jewish school (*ibid.* : 259):

> It looks for a tangible value for money spent. If a parent pays fees for his son's education, he wants to see a tangible return in the shape of an examination certificate for his expenditure, and he judges the worth of the school by the number of such certificates that the school pupils earn each year. The pupil, in his turn, is usually interested to know what good a particular subject or topic is to him from the point of view of his future career, and he will be reluctant to study it if it cannot be shown to have a bread and butter relevance to a career or to a public examination which he regards as a prerequisite to the search for a suitable job.

In this view, basically non-utilitarian academic subjects provide the program for clear economic ends.

A further economic pressure is present in the Commonwealth Government's Tertiary and Secondary Scholarships schemes. Designed to reduce inequalities of educational opportunity by assisting able but financially disadvantaged children, they exacerbate the situation facing pupils. Both are based on examinations. The commonwealth tertiary scholarships for continuing education at university were instituted in 1951. They are awarded on the basis of high results obtained in the university matriculation examination, and thus compound its highly competitive character.

The Commonwealth Secondary Scholarships Examination (CSSE), for which students sit in the middle of their fourth year, is designed by the Australian Council for Educational Research, on a national basis. It is a supposedly objective measure of developed ability in Mathematics, Science, Expression and the humanities. Yet, an academic orientation is obvious in those areas tested, with some apparent undue advantage to those students who have elected to study sciences and mathematics. Regardless of these drawbacks, however, the scholarships have the overall effect of strengthening the part examinations play in the academic tradition.[3]

3. These examinations were abandoned soon after the research in Lubavitcher School was completed. In discussing their role in the life of the school, however, the ethnographic present has been retained, in accordance with anthropological convention.

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The literati of the academic tradition

As with the Great Tradition, 'literati' have played an important part in shaping the academic tradition in Australian education. As this has been bound up with obtaining qualifications for university entrance, the majority of the literati have come inevitably from the ranks of the universities themselves.

The post-Second World War period in the State of Victoria is illustrative, and of immediate relevance for the school. Between 1944 and 1964 the Victorian Matriculation Examination was directly controlled by the Professorial Board of the University of Melbourne. Monash University started teaching in 1961, but it was not until 1 January 1965 that the two universities set up the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board to co-ordinate the work of conducting their entrance requirements. Initially the Board was composed of 38 members. When La Trobe University (established in 1967) was given a share of membership, and Monash University grew to approach equality of representation with the University of Melbourne, the total membership of the Board also increased. In 1970 it numbered 43 members, with a ratio of university interests to school interests standing at 20 to 14.

The actual work of the Board is carried out by a large number of Standing Committees for the academic subject areas offered at the matriculation level. The constitution of each Standing Committee also emphasizes the strength of university representation. Although Committees vary according to the size of subject areas, almost half the numbers on each are drawn from university ranks. The remainder represent non-university organizations, of which the majority are associated with the State Education Department. Two representatives are from organizations which might reasonably be expected to have an academic orientation. These are the Catholic Education Office and the Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria (IARTV), which is closely connected with the major independent schools.

A majority of the literati of the academic tradition and its endemic examinations are thus themselves academics of university status. Their influence on school curricula has been a pervasive one. Connell suggests two features that have characterized this influence (1970 : 257).

Firstly, university personnel have played a major part in designing the syllabuses upon which the university examinations have been based. Secondly, their influence has been a one-way arrangement, stretching from the university at the top down through the secondary and on into the primary level, with little reciprocal influence from these levels filtering back up again. A major result of this arrangement has been that all levels of teaching have become dominated by the final sixth form or matriculation examination. Even in schools with relative autonomy to devise their own syllabuses, there has been a strong tendency to select what is taught in the light of its potential merit as preparation for sixth form studies. The outcomes of these influences are quite apparent in Lubavitcher School, as they are in many other independent and state high schools.

The ideology of the academic tradition

In place of a codified charter such as that validating the Great Tradition, there is a loosely connected body of writings about Australian education from which can be derived some of the central values of the academic tradition. They are more usefully thought of as a cluster of interdependent ideas and beliefs, or ideology, which underpins the way many independent schools operate, and logically and philosophically justifies their view of the educational process. It also enshrines views of man that have become a characteristic feature of the academic tradition, and are in direct contrast to the view of the ideal man, the scholar, enshrined in the Great Tradition.

One of the clearest statements on the ideology of the academic tradition came out of the Headmasters Conference of Australia in 1943 (Wilson, 1957 : 46). This took the form of a resolution to the Australian Prime Minister of the time. *Inter alia*, the members of the Conference saw their schools contributing to a reformed education system through:

1 the religious spirit of their schools;
2 their insistence on the training of character on the basis of the Christian faith;
3 their efforts to train pupils to regard their life work as a vocation in the service of God and of the community; and
4 the traditional methods by which they seek to develop in young people a sense of social responsibility.

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The religious spirit of the schools and the Christian basis of character training are intended to produce the 'Christian gentleman'. This concern is central to the Arnoldian tradition from Britain which permeates the ethos of the academic tradition and the independent school, and constitutes an ideal which has attracted many subsequent headmasters. The notion presupposes at least a token belief in the existence of God and Jesus His Son but, as McLaren has suggested (1968 : 14),

> the schools have largely subordinated their ostensible religious aims until they have become merely a kind of genuflection [*sic*] in the direction of well-bred decency, a code in which loyalty to the sovereign rates well ahead of any unbecoming concern with the ways of the Almighty.

In consequence, the emphasis has been placed on the ethical rather than theological aspects of religion. This tends to colour the religious instruction syllabuses of independent schools. The roots of this emphasis are traceable back to the period of 'muscular Victorian Christianity' which succeeded the Old Testament influences during the 1850s period of Victorian education. This stressed a New Testament Christian humanism, in which the mystery of religion and its mystical qualities are blended with ideals of service to the community and individual social responsibility through good deeds. Here we have quite clear links with the fourth contribution of the independent schools claimed by the Headmasters' Conference in 1943. Their practical result in many schools is the provision for pupils to take part in a range of extra-curricular activities which take in social service projects such as working in old people's homes or in urban welfare organizations, hospital kitchens and the like. All these are considered to contribute to the type of character training needed to produce the Christian gentleman.

However, they are not free from a certain degree of self-interest, as a closely related view of man is that of the Christian leader, which has had a strong influence on the activities of the independent schools. It is seen to be the most appropriate way of making one's life-work a vocation in the service of God and, more especially, of the community. The latter nicely blends altruism with the advantages to be gained from such service. Again, the historical links with British influence are quite explicit. The headmaster of one leading independent

school in Melbourne is quoted as considering that 'the concept of "leadership" conferred by the special qualities of private school education is intimately intertwined with the Arnoldian image of the Christian gentleman' (Encel, 1970 : 426).

The 'muscular' emphasis in the brand of Christianity from which the independent schools draw their ideological inspiration is not confined solely to name only. Physical manliness and participation in sport, games, and other outdoor pursuits are held to assist in the development of character and personal moral values. They are given great prominence in the extra-curricular activities of most independent schools, and necessitate the maintenance of a considerable amount of physical space and resources such as sports ovals, pavilions and changing rooms, grandstands, scoreboards, rowing sheds, gymnasiums and swimming pools. In support of this aim to produce the 'whole man', Hansen (1971 : 22–23) cites Lytton Strachey's claim to trace the worship of athletics and good form directly back to the Arnoldian cult. From it stems the 'games fetish' in the great independent schools. It is one that makes great demands on a boy's time. This will depend on the level of his participation in sport, but if he is a member of a senior team or crew, for instance, some 12 hours or more can be devoted to training and competition in after-school time each week. The week-end sees most activity, and even Sunday, nominally a day of rest in the Christian tradition, is not exempt.

The emphasis on fostering the more muscular side of the 'whole man' is not confined to sporting activities, although these are a particular concern of the wider Australian society. Another typically Australian phenomenon has come to be woven into the academic tradition: the mystique of the Australian bush and all that this entails. Some schools maintain properties in the country to give boys an opportunity to gain first-hand acquaintance with the country and nature. The objectives have been pointed out by Wilson (1957 : 43):

> the developing of self-reliance and independence, the training of practical and physical competence, the satisfying of the desire for adventure and the less-recognized relationship between man and nature, with its understanding of the importance of the land, not only to those who work upon it, but to all men.

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The concept of the whole man can even take on a semi-mystical character which explains why independent schools provide the facilities for sport, bushcraft, learning, and social service activities, under one management which combines vocational, social, and religious training. This

> offers the vital opportunity of giving the child the idea that whether he is doing his homework or playing football, he is doing it as a man walking in the sight of God, . . . and to the greater glory of God (*ibid.*: 36).

The same might be said of other activities that are held to contribute to character building and the production of leadership qualities in the whole man: house systems, prefect systems, cadet and scout movements, arts, crafts and a variety of improving hobbies.

In all this plethora of good works and eminently sound preparation of the Christian gentleman there is still time for things of the mind and the fostering of the academic man. This constitutes the second of the twin goals of intellectual training and character training. It concentrates on channelling pupils' efforts into academic learning rather than vocational training, and has concomitant effects on both the curriculum and pedagogy. These are basically prescriptive and oriented towards external examinations at the sixth form level. For those pupils who aspire to this goal, work is teacher-dominated through 'exposition, explanation, set homework, tests, and guided study of texts' (Bassett, 1963 : 281). Although some schools give recognition to student initiative, research and self-directed learning, by the stage of the senior secondary forms at least, the Australian examination fixation prevails. Intellectual excellence becomes measurable in terms of the number of first-class honours and scholarships that can be captured by a school's students in the final examinations. This is possibly the sole occasion in the year when the concept of the Christian gentleman takes second place, even if only in the minds of the pupils.

From this necessarily brief review of the academic tradition it is clear that in one major respect its basic orientation differs from that of the Great Tradition. It is knowledge- and assessment-oriented, based on an empirical scientific epistemology, but only in order to succeed in a highly competitive examination system and thus gain corresponding socio-economic and status rewards. The same motives appear to underlie the concept of the Christian gentleman. It is the leadership

aspect—and all the accruing benefits—that receive emphasis. Because of these emphases, the academic tradition provides 'in order to' motives for conduct. In contrast to the motives of the Great Tradition, they can be questioned and, if necessary, rejected. However, in the materialistic, Western, industrialized society within which Lubavitcher School is situated, such a rejection is fraught with dangers—man must live. By socially organizing the two traditions that have been examined, the school inevitably places the boy in a dilemma: how to become an Orthodox Jew, a boy of the Great Tradition, on the one hand, and a contender for socio-economic gains on the other.

5.1

Part 2
The Social Organization of Tradition

The communication of the nature of a culture, a community, or a work of art, is part of the business and joy of human living, and needs to be carried on whether or not there is a strictly behavioural science. So, if the characterization of a community stops at some place between imaginative portraiture on the one hand, and a statement of a proved hypothesis as to part relations on the other, it may serve, although perhaps only a little, several of these needs and purposes.

Robert Redfield

3
The Structuring of Tradition in Lubavitcher School

The school follows a pattern common to many denominational schools by having the facilities for both secular and religious education on the same campus. This is clearly evident in the man-made habitat. Holding pride of place in this instance is the synagogue fronting onto the main street. Attached to the rear are a meeting hall, kindergarten, kitchen and toilet facilities. Some distance back from these there is the main two-storey classroom block providing 10 classrooms. This building looks out over a small asphalt playground bounded on its eastern boundary by a fence dividing the boys' school from the adjacent girls' 'sister' school on another campus (see Plate 8). Located there are also a kindergarten, a small classroom for the preparatory grade of the boys' school, and science laboratories shared in rotation by students from both schools.

Several small, older red-brick buildings occupy odd corners of both campuses. One in the girls' playground is a store for second-hand clothing and household articles intended for sale in an opportunity shop run by the school community as one of the many contributions to Jewish charity. On the boys' campus a similar building is used as a library and overflow classroom for senior boys. Attached to it are two smaller buildings used for storing equipment and housing toilet facilities. The construction of all these old buildings is in marked contrast to the modern, yellow-brown sandstone brick design of the other main blocks and the synagogue itself.

A noteworthy feature on campus is the number of large stainless steel wash troughs placed against suitable walls on the outside of buildings. In construction these are all unremarkable apart from the number of aluminium water jugs or pitchers provided for each trough, insecurely attached to the wall by a length of chain some two feet long.

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An old concrete trough, unplumbed and surmounted by an inscription in Hebrew stands against the wall of the old red-brick building in the boys' campus, but no pitchers are provided. The number of jugs fluctuated during the year either due to weaknesses in the chain or the cycle of religious Festivals and Holy Days. On these occasions jugs were replaced so that a full complement was available in each trough. In the foyer of the synagogue there are two chinaware basins, one in each alcove beside the main entrance from the street, and each provided with aluminium pitchers. These apparently mundane facilities reflect the importance placed on the ritual washing of hands before meals and after using the toilet.

Inside the synagogue and meeting hall block are several small rooms. Three on the ground floor lead off from the foyer, and are occupied by the Principal of the school, the bursar, and the school secretary. On the other side of the synagogue chamber there are two other rooms. At the time of the study, one was used as the sixth form home-room, the other as a venue for prayer. On the same side of the synagogue, but on the second storey, part of the landing from the stairways has been converted into small rooms. One is used infrequently by small classes, or as a quiet place to study, the other is occupied by the Lubavitcher Youth group attached to the school.

The second storey of the synagogue is little more than a wide balcony occupied by pews. These run along three sides of the chamber. This is the area reserved for women at all religious services, while their menfolk assemble in the hall below, and reflects the separation of the sexes on ceremonial occasions maintained in Orthodox congregations. Around the entire length of the balcony, and rising some four feet above the front parapet and its brass railing, is a white butter muslin curtain which renders the women in the balcony all but invisible to the men below. The balcony is approached by a stairway originating in the porch of the synagogue but outside the foyer, which is not ordinarily used by women. At the top of the stairway is a cloakroom, used as a classroom, lunchroom for staff, and staff meetings during the week. Toilet facilities for women are adjacent.

The synagogue chamber is separated from the meeting and dining hall by a folding partition which is drawn aside after services to give full access for the worshippers. Another partition divides the northern

end of the dining room into a small room to which access can be gained by a corridor from the end of the synagogue chamber. This is the *bet midrash* proper used throughout the day by the students of the Rabbinical College or *Yeshivah Gedolah*.

Along the entire southern wall of the dining room there is a wash trough provided with pitchers. Leading off the hall is the kitchen and its ancillary storerooms. On the eastern side of the hall, glass doors open out onto a small concrete patio which converts into the communal *succah* during *Succos*, and the kindergarten itself. Attached to the doorpost of most doors throughout the building is the *mezuzah*.

From the street, the west wall of the synagogue is built in a series of angled steps. Each has a tall window set into the south-facing wall and reaching almost to the roof. When viewed from inside the building, the effect tends to be masked by pews on the ground floor. In the balcony, however, the steps become a series of brightly sunlit alcoves along the western wall, each furnished with a study table and chair (Plate 1). In comparison, the eastern wall has only small head-high windows looking out over the roof of the hall and towards the playground and classroom block.

A duality is evident in the uses and function of the buildings on campus, although this is not immediately apparent due to the constant coming and going of boys and other personnel in the complex which blurs the distinction between secular and religious facilities. Some facilities such as the synagogue, communal dining hall, wash troughs, *Yeshivah Gedolah*, and the library building, which also functions as a place for communal prayers and houses a *matzah*[1] bakery, constitute a special man-made habitat to facilitate the performance of rituals and *mitzvot*. Other facilities are obviously designed to assist secular teaching, but even classrooms in the teaching block are used for religious instruction, thereby further blurring the duality.

The overall impression produced by the arrangement of buildings and strengthened by daily usage is of the synagogue's place as a natural hub of activities, a communication routeway between the classrooms attached to it and other parts of the campus, and a central gathering

1. The unleavened bread baked especially for the Festival of Passover (*Pesach*), described in more detail in Chapter 9.

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point for students and adults. This seems only partly due to the location of the Principal's office which attracts a steady stream of visitors from the outside community as well as boys and teachers from the school. The synagogue itself is an informal meeting place for all and sundry, though it is apparent that only males are involved. An ebb and flow of men and boys persists in and around it during the day, gossiping, relaxing in pews, studying, praying—all expressive of its multiple functions and several terms of reference.[2]

The elements of tradition in the synagogue

The furnishings and appurtenances within the synagogue reflect its multiple functions, and also indicate how closely it adheres to strict biblical and Eastern European traditions. The entrance, through heavy swinging doors off the spacious foyer, gives access to the rear of the synagogue and the ordered rows of pews facing the front or focal 'eastern wall' directly opposite the entrance. This is a mandatory feature of synagogue architecture. The 'eastern wall', i.e. that facing the direction of Jerusalem, is the one faced by the congregation in prayer. Against it is located the Ark of the Law (Heb. *Aron ha-kodesh*) or carved wooden closet in which the Scrolls of the Law are kept. In front of the richly decorated doors an embroidered curtain (Heb. *parokhet*) hangs, also decorated with Hebrew motifs and the Star of David. The colours, normally maroon and gold or royal blue and silver, change to white and gold for the High Holy Days of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. The *parokhet* is used in obedience to the biblical injunction: 'And thou shalt make a veil of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen' (Exod. 26 : 31).

In front of the Ark is a raised platform (Heb. *dukhan*) reached by a number of steps, and used by the priests (Heb. *kohen*, pl. *kohanim*) when reciting the priestly blessing during the Additional Service on Festivals (except on the Sabbath) and *Yom Kippur*. Over the platform, a little above and in front of the Ark, hangs a brass lamp with red glass inserts through which shines a light at all times. This is the Eternal Lamp (Heb. *Ner Tamid*) prescribed in Exodus (27 : 20–21) and

2. *Shul* (Yidd.)—'school'; *Bet Hamidrash* (Heb.)—'house of study'; *Bet Hatephillah* (Heb.)—'house of prayer'.

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Leviticus (24 : 2–3) to hang 'without the veil of testimony in the tabernacle of the Congregation' as a symbol of the eternal watchfulness and providence of God over His people (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965 : 284). Seating against the 'eastern wall' is available during services for prominent members of the congregation and distinguished visitors. For instance, newly arrived Lubavitcher rabbis sat there during a welcoming ceremony, discussed below.

Normally the majority of the congregation occupy pews. Many of these have small brass plaques inscribed with the name of the congregation member who has purchased his seat. Not all are able to do this as the charge is expensive, as are congregation dues or fees generally. Strangers in the synagogue traditionally stand at the back, or sit around a large polished wooden table adjacent to the entrance. This is a feature of the traditional Eastern European *shul* and illustrates how closely tradition is followed. Part of the back wall itself is occupied by glass-fronted bookcases holding prayer books, copies of *Chumash*[3] or the Mishnah, as the *shul* is both a place of worship and study. The latter is evident at most hours of the day, when groups of boys study and argue vociferously around the table under the direction of a rabbi, or the rabbi himself studies alone, chanting aloud and punctuating the cadence of Hebrew by emphatic sways of the upper body in the accepted traditional style, the 'only way' of learning. Through it all others come and go, and the *Ner Tamid* glows on.

Almost in the middle of the *shul*, in the wide centre aisle, stands an elevated platform or pulpit (Heb. *bimah*), mounted by a short stairway. On the side facing the 'eastern wall' there is a tilted desk on which the Scroll of the Law is placed when Readings occur during the prescribed services. The area near the *bimah* is free of pews and allows congregants to cluster at the foot of the platform during prayer. It also allows room for circuits or processions with the Scrolls, especially the ritual circumambulations (Heb. *hakkaphot*) of the *bimah* during some major Festivals, which are described in Chapter 5.

A notable feature of the *shul* is the marked absence of an iconography —statues, holy pictures, medallions—of the type commonly associated with the Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox Churches, among

3. *Chumash* from *chamesh* (Heb.)—'five', i.e. the five books of the Pentateuch.

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others. This follows the strict biblical injunction in the Second Commandment:

> Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any manner of likeness, of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth (Exod. 20 : 4; Deut. 5 : 8).

Although modern rabbinical authority tends towards liberal interpretation of this law, it is apparent that the *shul* adheres to the strictly Orthodox view, which traditionally holds that artistic embellishments tend to distract the worshipper from concentration on his devotions.

The staff

The composition of the teaching and administrative staff of the school also reflects its dual functions. Each of the traditions is served by a body of specialists in the form of secular teaching staff for the academic tradition, and rabbis and lay religious teachers for the Great Tradition. Apart from the two Jewish primary grade teachers, who take their grades for both secular and religious work, there is no overlap between the two bodies. On the other hand, all the administrative and para-administrative staff carry out duties that relate to both traditions.

Composition of the secular teaching staff

Of the 21 full-time staff, 12 are men and nine are women. There is a basic division between those responsible for the administration of their grades, and those with specialist functions but no administrative duties. They are the sports master, art mistress for Forms 1 and 2 (Grades 7 and 8), and a male Hebrew teacher responsible for this subject in all the secondary forms. The position of the sports master was initially filled by part-time instructors. During the year of the study, two came and went in rapid succession, and the position was finally filled on a full-time basis by an ex-Navy physical training instructor.

The school has a large complement of part-time specialist teachers. These all teach in the senior school, where difficulty is experienced in finding qualified staff able to teach at the fifth and sixth form examination levels. Most are employed for the latter. Their numbers and composition fluctuated during the year of the study for a variety of reasons, among which is the strain some feel coping with extra work on top of their normal teaching load. All the part-time teachers are

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on loan from other secondary schools, or hold positions in tertiary colleges. In consequence, most can only work at the school after normal working hours, during the evenings, or on Sundays. The Principal considers such after-hours classes as part of the boys' timetable in order to obtain full schooling. The boys themselves accept the situation as an inevitable outcome of the difficulty the school faces in getting highly qualified staff. Provided they get value for money in terms of good teaching, they accept the situation with good grace.

In view of the religious background of the school, a striking feature of its secular staff is the low proportion of Jewish teachers. Of the 21 teachers only seven are Jewish—two men and five women. Four of the latter teach the preparatory or lower primary grades full-time. The other is on loan from the sister school to teach matriculation Australian History. The two males are the senior English master and the Hebrew teacher. At the end of the school year, the former emigrated to Israel, and in the following year his place was taken by a non-Jew.

From this situation it should not be inferred that teaching is not a preferred profession among Jews. Dr Geulah Solomon has pointed out in discussion that there is a shortage of Jewish teachers comparable to that existing with non-Jewish teachers. In addition, however, a high esteem is traditionally accorded to teachers of biblical studies, and this has been the case for centuries. Ideally, 'all Jews are teachers'. In comparison, teaching secular studies with their concomitant secular values is not so highly esteemed.

The Principal has the administrative responsibility for both the secular and religious sides of the school. He does no formal teaching, as a great deal of his time is spent in fund-raising and other public relations activities in the Jewish community both in Melbourne and Sydney. Consequently he is frequently absent from the school. When available, he does deputize for an absent member of the religious teaching staff.

Positions of responsibility among the secular staff

The composition of the secular staff leads to a diffused allocation of responsibility in which the chain of command from the Principal down is not clearly established. A non-Jewish senior mistress, who teaches the sixth grade, heads the primary school, and she is autonomous to a considerable degree in matters which concern this level. *De facto* respon-

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sibility for organizing and presiding over most of the formal assemblies of the whole school is held by the Jewish senior English and sixth form master. He has not only a flair for dramatic oratory, but also speaks Hebrew and Yiddish. Both languages feature in homilies and songs which occur during meetings to honour important guests or Jewish and school anniversaries.

Next in line, and responsible for tasks which demand different skills, is the senior mathematics and fifth form master. He arranges the timetables, allocates staff to daily playground and dining-room supervision, and arranges the times and rooms of the examinations held each term. Such tasks do not need a knowledge of Hebrew or Yiddish, but the capacity to juggle permutations and combinations of staff, space and time. The mystique of mathematics, together with highly effective discipline and control over senior classes, establishes the teacher's status in the authority hierarchy.

Despite the largely complementary functions of these two masters, the exact extent and nature of their areas of responsibility are seldom established with sufficient clarity to enable either to make decisions, and be confident of support from the Principal on his return from an absence. This is an inevitable, dysfunctional outcome of the Principal's multiple roles and responsibilities. Consequently, there is often an air of uncertainty about major events, which can flow over into boys' perceptions of situations. Their reactions often indicate considerable anxiety, which occasionally reaches complete bewilderment and even hostility when organization breaks down.

Other secondary teachers take less administrative responsibility. Each has charge of a form but, unlike the primary grade mistresses who teach all subjects, is not solely responsible for its discipline and control, as each form is taught by several subject specialists. Each master's authority depends on a number of factors such as strength of personality and a capacity to exert authority and control, but it is clear that boys' respect is also gained by teaching competence and subject expertise. If these are lacking, complaints from the boys can be outspoken, and on occasions clearly indicate the lack of respect they have for the master concerned.

During the course of any week-day, it can be obvious which class is being taught by a weak teacher from the amount of noise and in-

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discipline that prevails. This is not an unusual situation in any school, but here there is a close correlation between a disruptive class and the boys' apparent perceptions of the teaching competence of the staff member taking it. Even where a master holds a senior position in the status hierarchy of sixth form subject teachers, he is judged on class performance at the level he happens to be teaching. A master occupying a more junior position in charge of a lower form, but nevertheless expert in his field, is accorded greater respect, and has fewer discipline worries. There is also a difference between the amount of respect accorded each subject. Those which are critical for high results in the matriculation examination, and play the greatest part in university selection—the science and mathematics group—gain more attention than those which are thought to be 'soft' options, such as the branches of history taught at the school. Economics and accountancy are well regarded because of their potential importance in business careers.

The sports master occupies an interesting position in the hierarchy, and has a strong reputation, but for reasons very different from those discussed above. He has no form responsibility and thus holds no formal position in the secondary school hierarchy. He has no academic teaching duties or expertise, but gains respect for his obvious sporting and gymnastic skills, physical strength and air of 'tough' competence which indicates to boys that he stands nc nonsense whatsoever. In contrast, the two previous incumbents lacked these characteristics, and did not last long in the position. Activities during a sports period in the playground are consequently orderly, disciplined and relatively quiet, in marked contrast to the noisiness that can prevail during unsupervised recreation.

The religious teaching staff

The religious teaching staff can be divided into two broad groups, clergy and lay. The former comprises rabbis of various kinds, holding different positions of responsibility. By virtue of their full beards and black clerical garb and hats, they are very conspicuous members of the school. Lay teachers are less easy to identify.

The senior rabbis teach at the school either full-time or part-time. There are two rabbis permanently assigned to the school on a full-time basis as teaching rabbis with no communal responsibility. One takes

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the sixth form and an advanced junior class studying Talmud. The other takes middle and junior school classes for *Mishnayis*.

Part-time rabbis constitute a somewhat heterogeneous group. There are two communal rabbis with their own congregations elsewhere, who come to the school to take religious classes during the early morning period between 8.50 and 10.50 a.m., but not usually at other times of the day. In addition, there is a number of rabbis with no congregational responsibilities but who are loosely attached to the school community. Young Lubavitcher rabbis, all from America, make up another group from which teachers are drawn on a part-time, infrequent basis.

There were six representatives of the Lubavitcher Movement studying at the school when I started work there. During the year they returned to the United States to be replaced by six others, aiming to stay for two years studying at the Rabbinical College. Aside from this involvement they periodically address the local congregations, and are in contact with the Australian Jewish communities at large as part of the out-reach religious work of the Movement. The occasion of the departure and arrival of these young rabbis was marked by several farewell and welcoming ceremonies held in the synagogue. Senior students from the school attended these, and a group went out to the airport to meet the newcomers.

The young rabbis and other seminary students are the focus of attraction for boys of all ages, when their recesses coincide. More senior students tend to predominate, with endless discussions and some ragging carried on, when they are not kicking a football, playing volleyball or a form of fives against the walls of the classrooms. From the comments of some senior boys I taught, it is obvious that they regard the young rabbis with feelings tantamount to hero-worship. They exercise a strong influence through their omnipresence in religious ceremonies and euphoric style of worship.

Like all the male Jews from kindergarten to staff, in or associated with the school, each of these young men wears a hat or *yarmelkeh*, or both, at all times. This at first is a novel sight, especially in the classroom when confronted by pupils still wearing caps (Plate 2). However, it soon loses its unfamiliarity until the sight of a boy *not* wearing his *yarmelkeh*, usually due to its falling off unnoticed during some vigor-

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ous activity, prompts one's automatic reminder to him to cover his head properly.

The attitude of the Principal to the wearing of a *yarmelkeh* is uncompromising. On one occasion during a staff meeting, he was asked by the gentile sports master to permit boys to remove their caps or *yarmelkehs* while tumbling on mats during gym periods. After a moment of grave reflection, the Principal said that such dispensation could not be granted. *Yarmelkehs* could be pinned to the hair.

Lay staff taking religious classes comprises men and women, the former taking secondary forms. The community's *shochet* (Heb. 'ritual slaughterer'), who is also a scholar and scribe, takes the fifth form. The fourth form was taken initially by an English Lubavitcher rabbi. On his return to England a male lay teacher took over, continuing for the remainder of the year. Women take primary grades. Where they know Hebrew and Scripture, the normal teachers take their own grades. Part-time teachers are brought in to take the two grades normally taught by non-Jewish women. Apparently only two of the women teachers are trained in Hebrew and have a solid background in Scripture. One of them is the daughter of one of the communal rabbis.

From several comments I received it is clear that there is a desperate lack of, and need for, trained Jewish teachers for Jewish schools. The same comment was made by the School President at the community dinner held to farewell the sixth form master on his departure for Israel: 'Here is a young Jewish teacher leaving for Israel, and who is there to replace him? There is a need for young Orthodox Jewish teachers, but they are not coming forward.'

Positions of responsibility among the religious staff

A situation exists among the religious teaching staff comparable to that in the secular side of the school, in that various trained, partially-trained and almost untrained teachers are employed. Some are full-time and others part-time. There are corresponding difficulties with fractious classes, which may be for similar reasons. During the periods when religious study proceeds, a quick tour of the campus quickly reveals those teachers—both rabbinical and lay—who are having discipline problems.

Many explicitly complained to me about the lack of respect from the boys, which they put down to them being thoroughly spoilt at home. So frequently was this mentioned that it makes one wonder whether there is what can be termed a 'spoiling syndrome' which causes concern to members of staff and even extends to the Principal. Lack of respect is surprising as one might expect the boys to show respect for their teachers' religious calling in traditional fashion, but this does not appear to be the case. Neither does the inherently sacred, serious nature of the studies appear to curb bad behaviour. In senior forms a dialectical style of teaching is sometimes employed in which the boys are encouraged to argue with the teacher and among themselves. This may be conducive to excitement which quickly gets out of hand, but is not sufficient to explain all the incidents witnessed.

Establishing if there is a form of authority hierarchy among the religious staff is difficult, as the normal secular grade and form structure provides the basis for dividing into classes, and there does not appear to be an obvious relationship between the status of the religious teacher and the form or grade taught. The Principal is at first sight the obvious head of what hierarchy there is. But it became clear with time that the whole teaching establishment comprising the school and Rabbinical College is nominally led by its original founder. He is an elderly rabbi who spends the great majority of his time supervising the rabbinical and other students, who are taking tertiary Jewish studies in the *Yeshivah Gedolah*, either as formal preparation for the rabbinate or from choice for a year prior to going to university or into an occupation. Next in authority is the Principal, who attends to the majority of the day-to-day running of both religious and secular sides of the school. The women teachers would be regarded as junior members of the hierarchy.

The administrative and para-administrative staff

A number of non-teaching staff also assist in the running of the school. These are the school secretary, bursar, cleaner-gardener and catering staff in the kitchen. These are usually found in any school of medium size, but in the case of the secretary, bursar and catering staff at least they also perform tasks which are related to the Orthodox nature of the school and not its size. These necessitate their presence in any case.

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The bursar has the dual role of looking after the school's finances—levying and collecting school fees, paying staff, meeting its running expenses—while also acting as the treasurer for the synagogue and its congregation. In the latter role, he collects congregation membership dues, organizes and receives money through appeals and charities, and looks after the everyday running expenses of the synagogue congregation. For the major Festivals of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*, seats in the synagogue are at a premium and are rented or sold to people wishing to attend, who have not already bought their seat as a regular member of the congregation. At this period the bursar's role related to the synagogue is very obvious, with 'phone calls and constant visitors to his office making requests for seats, or paying a contribution to the charity and other appeals conducted on behalf of the congregation at this time of the year.

In these tasks he is assisted by the school secretary who also has a dual role. As secretary to the Principal, she is the link between him and staff, boys and parents. She handles most routine inquiries and petty troubles of the boys, assists staff in their typing and duplicating, handles inquiries from parents and visitors to the school or synagogue, and organizes such matters as orders for books, stationery and the like.

All of these would be considered normal tasks of a school secretary. However she also assists with the supervision of the boys' lunchtime in the hall adjacent to the synagogue and kitchen, a task which entails hearing boys recite the appropriate Benedictions and Graces and making sure they wash their hands. Another supervisory task is assisting primary school teachers to load some of their pupils into taxis, which call to collect and take them to their homes each afternoon when the primary school finishes. Besides assisting the bursar with community appeals—typing and mailing letters, organizing stationery—the secretary also handles petty cash matters. One of these is the sale of the *tallit katan* to the boys. In consequence, her office, like the Principal's, contains a clutter of sacred and secular paraphernalia.

Many schools have tuckshops or lunchrooms staffed by one or two permanent personnel, often more, depending on the size of the school. Their tasks usually entail the preparation of a variety of snacks such as sandwiches, rolls and cakes sold to pupils at recesses and lunchtime. Often commercially produced soft drinks and confectionery are

stocked and sold at a profit. In this work the permanent catering staff are often assisted by mothers on a roster basis. If the school has a mothers' club, staffing the tuckshop is one of its most important functions, and considerable control can be exercised over the quality and type of foods supplied. A well-run tuckshop is also a source of extra funds for the school, with profits being used to purchase extra equipment or provide amenities which the school could not otherwise afford.

The school follows this pattern by providing lunches through the kitchen at a charge of one dollar per week. A tuckshop is also organized by the very active Parents' Association on one day a week. Proceeds go towards the purchase of sports equipment, school furniture and other educational amenities. During the year the tuckshop service was extended. A circular advertises that on Mondays 'very delicious fried beef-burgers are sold, and on Wednesdays hot dogs'. Orders for these are canvassed by a boy monitor who goes round classes during the first period after morning recess.

The Parents' Association is also involved in organizing major functions such as welcomes and farewells to prominent members of both religious and secular staff, and other people associated with the school. Of these functions, a number takes place in the homes of parents, others are held at the dining hall of the school. In all such activities there is little difference between the work of the Association or tuckshop and similar organizations in schools of similar type.

Support for the religious functions of the school

In one respect, however, there is a considerable difference. The kitchen and tuckshop function to support the system of religious observances and values entailed by the school's Orthodox basis, which would be impossible or difficult to sustain otherwise. The circular to parents at the beginning of the school year states that 'Boys of Barmitzvah age should attend daily services which commence at 7.20 a.m. followed by breakfast, for which there is a nominal charge'. The breakfast is supplied by the kitchen.

A number of religious services during the year and celebrations such as a *Bar Mitzvah* are followed by a community meal in the hall adjacent to the synagogue. The kitchen again plays an important function in providing the nucleus of the organization that goes into

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the preparation and serving of food for such occasions. At big gatherings its normal staff of two to three elderly women is supplemented by the wives of male members of the congregation. The men sit at the tables erected in the hall. The women do not eat with them, but wait on the tables.

Other schools have tuckshops and kitchens that prepare and serve lunches, but in this case the preparation takes on a religious significance. All food is prepared with strict regard for the *kashruth* laws. Hot lunches are usually dairy produce of one sort or another. When meat is served no milk products are supposed to be taken. Should a child bring a meat lunch he cannot have milk nor mix with those having dairy or milk lunches. He usually eats outside the hall. The circular to parents stresses 'that children bringing their own lunch should be provided with MILCHIG dishes only'.[4]

The kitchen and its staff thus perform a function which transcends the mere provision of food, as would be the case in non-Jewish schools. This is to maintain a whole system of ritual behaviour based on religious values and beliefs about keeping *kashruth*. The consumption of food accompanies many religious ceremonies central to the life of the school complex. Without the kitchen as mediator between the system of traditional religious values and their enactment in terms of ritually pure eating behavour and ceremonial, it is conceivable that much of the religious functioning of the whole complex itself could be impaired or even rendered impossible.

One of the important non-teaching personnel of the school is the caretaker. His job involves not only keeping the classroom and other secular premises and furniture clean, orderly and in good repair, but also maintaining the synagogue and adjoining religious buildings. At important times of the Jewish year such as *Yom Kippur*, *Rosh Hashanah* and the Ninth Day in *Av*[5], the caretaker's tasks entail major rearrangement in the seating accommodation in the synagogue, as well as the subsequent cleaning up that is necessary after services. In addition to indoor tasks such as these, he is responsible for the grounds of the school campus. This involves maintaining the small flower beds, shrubbery and patches of lawn located in it.

4. *Milchig* (Yidd.), *Milkhik* (Heb.)—'Dairy'; pertaining to dairy food.
5. *Tisha B'Av* (Heb.)—Fast commemorating the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D.

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To a large extent these tasks constitute a 'definite field of competence' seen by Shipman (1968 : 56) as the outcome of having duties that are specific and able to be determined rigidly. However, like the school secretary, their variety and degree of over-lap between secular and religious aspects reduce this specificity. In consequence the status of the caretaker is not so much neutral (uninvolved with staff or pupils as persons to whom obligations are felt), as Shipman considers it to be, but indeterminate.

He does so many types of odd jobs that it is hard to delimit the area of his responsibility. Consequently many unusual requests for help made to him by the Principal, administrative personnel, staff and even boys are complied with. For instance, during the year the caretaker took to wearing a hat at all times around the school in keeping with its Orthodox character. Unverified rumour had it that the Principal made the request for the hat to be worn, although the caretaker is a non-Jew. In many other schools where the caretaker can be a petty tyrant —in Shipman's terms' ruthlessly impartial'—such requests would never have been made, let alone met, as both caretaker and staff would have known precisely the area of legitimate responsibility, and respected it. The relatively small size of the school, its more informal organization, and even the compliant personality of the caretaker himself all may have played an equal part in encouraging the relaxed personal relationships with staff and boys. However, even this was not enough to prevent apparent role conflict on occasions when demands seemed excessive from one or other of those involved with the school.

The organization of the campus, facilities and staff in the school clearly relates to its aim of transmitting two traditions. Some overlap occurs in a few cases where personnel and facilities fulfil dual roles. In most other respects there is an obvious duality in the school. This is very apparent in the composition of the secular and religious teaching staff. In contrast, a division of functions is less obvious in the case of the administrative, catering, and caretaking personnel, where there is considerable blurring of areas of responsibility. As a result there is a heightening of their participation in many facets of school life. This helps to reduce their social distance from pupils, and increases the informality of interpersonal relationships which is a notable feature of school life outside the classroom.

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4
The Organization of Time and Activity

The allocation of time to activities in the school (the man-time orientation) relates closely to the way the school is organized and structured. A day is divided into periods for prayer, religious study, recreation and secular study. As a boy proceeds through the day, he comes firstly under the discipline of the Great Tradition and its attendant norms and authority figures, then under the discipline of the academic tradition and its authority figures and norms. In effect there is a dialectical interplay between the two traditions due to the way time is organized. Like a pendulum, the boy swings first to the Great Tradition, then to the academic tradition, then back again, and so on during the day. During these oscillations, he snatches brief moments to perform personal religious rituals or *mitzvot*, which are based on an inner discipline rather than compliance to an external authority figure.

Morning Prayer and religious study

For boys of *barmitzvah* age the school day begins early. It is a school rule that they should attend *Shacharis*, the Morning Prayer, which begins for them at 7.20 a.m. in the *shul*. Some strictly observant boys would have already said private prayers on rising and before coming to the school. *Shacharis* is followed by a communal breakfast in the dining hall, provided by the school at a nominal charge, the boys being forbidden to eat prior to the Morning Prayer. As for all group meals it is preceded by Benediction and followed by Grace.

By 8.50 a.m. all boys of *barmitzvah* age, whether they attend *Shacharis* or not, are expected to be in their classes for the two hours of religious study that follow. This is supervised by their Jewish lay and rabbinical teachers. Some boys worship in their local synagogue, then come on to school for religious studies. Other senior boys, either under pressure from preparing for examinations or other, personal reasons do not get to school until secular studies start. If observant, they are able

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to pray in their local synagogues, or the *shul* during the morning before midday.

The secular grade and form structure provides the basis on which the boys are divided into groups for religious studies. However, a few third and fourth form boys are in advance of their peers, and attend more senior groups in other classes. One group studies around the large table in the *shul*, another in the library, and a group of junior boys in the staffroom.

During the period from 8.50 to 10.50 a.m. the school settles to a quiet hum of classroom activity with no distracting activities such as games or sport taking place in the playground. Discussion punctuated by the teacher's explanation, the rhythmical sing-song cadence of a boy reading from *Chumash*, or of a group chanting in Hebrew, comes from some lower-school grades. More animated discussion takes place among the fifth and sixth forms, who are tackling the Talmud. A rabbi expounds the Law in one room, a woman's voice leads the singing of a primary grade in another. From subjective and impressionistic observations of this nature, a picture of the school during religious study emerges that is qualitatively different from what it is when secular work is taking place.

Religious studies continue until 10.50 a.m. when they are adjourned for a brief recess. After this and a short school assembly, primary grades and Forms 1 and 2 start secular work. The rest of the secondary school goes back to religious studies for a further 40 minutes.

Secular studies—the morning period

The secular part of the day begins at 10.55 a.m. when the siren sounds at the end of the short recess. At this signal, all primary and secondary grades line up in front of the main teaching block with their teachers. The Principal or senior master makes routine announcements, and all grades move off into their classrooms. The primary children customarily keep in a more-or-less neat 'crocodile' fussed over by the teacher in charge. Jostling, chatter and silliness are verbally checked. Secondary students are less well shepherded, and normally make their way to classes independently. Punctuality of both staff and students is constantly stressed by the Principal: time is too valuable to be wasted. His periodic visits to the playground and classrooms during this

assembly, and his commanding physical presence in black rabbinical garb provide both visual and verbal reinforcement of this norm.

Secular work is under way for all by 11.40 a.m., when the four senior forms complete religious studies. This time sees an exodus of religious teachers; some rabbis go to the kitchen for a cup of tea and a snack. Two 40-minute periods follow, with each grade adhering to its individual time-table. Each class remains in its own room, and the specialist teachers move around the school from class to class as their periods become due. The break between lessons creates a hiatus in control and discipline, as a class can be left unsupervised if its teacher has departed for another room and the next teacher is late. Noise, scuffling, and rowdiness are common occurrences in classrooms during the hiatus. Physical education classes carry on in the playground, and the noise of boys adds to that from classrooms. There is a discernibly different tempo about the school during secular work in comparison with the tempo of religious studies.

All grades have a lunchtime recess between one and two o'clock each day for part of the year. However, between *Pesach* (April) and *Succos* (October) school finishes on Friday at 3.15 p.m. for all boys to enable them to get home before nightfall for the beginning of *Shabbos* and the ritual kindling of the candles. As there is no *Minchah* prayer on Friday in view of its association with the Sabbath, lunchtime is reduced to three quarters of an hour. School begins again at 1.45 p.m. on this day.

The 10 minutes before the beginning of the lunchtime recess see 'crocodiles' of primary school boys being taken to the toilet, and to wash their hands at the large stainless steel troughs (with varying degrees of thoroughness), before being shepherded in line to the dining hall for supervised lunch. The secondary school stops at one o'clock. Many boys leave the classrooms boisterously, only a small proportion reaching up to touch the *mezuzah* on the door jamb. Others linger behind to discuss work, gossip, or waste time. They have to be shooed out and reminded to get to *Minchah*.

Lunchtime rituals—the *Minchah* prayer and recreation

The Afternoon Service (*Minchah*) starts at about 1.15 p.m., and must be attended by all boys who are *barmitzvah* before they have their

lunches. In contrast to *Shacharis*, which takes place in the *shul*, *Minchah* is conducted in small groups at various locations around the campus. The sixth form uses its own small room at the rear of the *shul*. Junior and middle forms assemble in the synagogue itself; fourth and fifth forms pray in the red-brick library building. The prayers are led by a senior boy, an adult, or by a rabbi if present.

At this time, students of the Rabbinical College also pray together, and their room at the end of the dining hall beyond the partition echoes with the quiet drone of voices, now all in unison, now antiphonally as the prayer leader chants the phrases and others respond. The metric beat and stress used in the prayer produce an almost hypnotic rhythm taken up by some worshippers, who rock forward and back in time with the cadence. Other boys, however, seem less observant. Some of those praying in the library gaze out of the window in seeming disregard of the proceedings.

Meanwhile the junior primary grades complete their meal with a Grace, and some wash their hands supervised by the duty teacher if she is Jewish. The school secretary sits at a small table near one of the glass doors into the adjacent kindergarten, and eats her own meal. She also supervises hand-washing before and after the meal, and has a pile of cards on which the Benediction is written to give out to those at each table. A duty master or mistress watches over the boys, and tries to maintain a degree of good behaviour and order.

Following *Minchah*, the senior boys come in. Some wash their hands perfunctorily, or have already washed them in one of the troughs in the playground. A great variation in the care taken over this is evident. Some, usually junior, boys merely touch the tap with their fingertips or allow a few drops to fall upon them, even though it is forbidden to eat without first washing the hands (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 40 : 14).

The more careful take a longer time and carry out the ritual deliberately and carefully. The water pitcher is filled, held in the left hand and water poured twice over the right, covering the entire hand as far as the wrist. This is repeated for the left hand, holding the water pitcher in the right. After rubbing the hands together a Benediction is recited in Hebrew with the hands uplifted: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hath sanctified us by His commandments and hath commanded us concerning the washing of

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the hands'. The hands are then dried. In one instance observed, one boy, known for his Orthodoxy, goes further to avoid contaminating his washed right hand by contact with either his left hand or the pitcher. He covers the right hand with the towel hanging on the wall before pouring water from the pitcher onto the left hand, despite the obvious awkwardness the action causes.

Lunch is a noisy occasion. The boys sit at long trestle tables and, following Benediction, chatter without stopping. Often so much food is spilt on tables and occasionally on the floor, that the room has to be thoroughly cleaned and swept out by the caretaker at the end of the period. As soon as all the senior boys have left, the students of the Rabbinical College eat lunches provided by the kitchen. Washing of hands and the Benediction are carried out punctiliously, the form of both Benediction and Grace varying according to the number and kind of persons present at table. Finally all are finished, Grace is recited, hands are washed, and the hall is vacated for the caretaker to start cleaning up.

Some boys eat their lunches outside in the playground. By 1.30 p.m., most boys are in the playground occupied with a variety of games according to the season, the weather or space available. Some hang around the classrooms, although they are strictly out of bounds. Lunchtime sees another form of hiatus in discipline and control, as most senior staff are having their lunches, and the one duty master or mistress in the yard cannot be everywhere at once. A probationer prefect is supposed to assist with maintaining discipline. He has the duty of going around the teaching block before and during the lunch-time to make sure that all rooms are vacated and doors locked. However, as in any school, this does not prevent some boys getting in again later, through one devious means or another.

The secular afternoon

Teaching starts again at two o'clock. Classroom work takes place over three 40-minute periods in the secondary school. These last until an afternoon recess at four o'clock, which gives an opportunity for staff carrying on teaching later in the afternoon to snatch a cup of tea. At this time those lower school boys who do not remain behind for

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special religious classes go home. Recess also sees an influx of some part-time teachers who are able to finish their full-time teaching jobs early enough to get over to the school to start teaching at 4.15 p.m.

The secular period after lunch is also occupied by sport or physical education classes in the yard and, again, the noise of the activities combines with that of the classrooms. Just before 3.30 p.m., parents of the primary school children gather in the yard to await their charges who are dismissed at that time. Girls from the sister school make their way to the same spot. The noise of greetings, gossip by the women, and finally the emergence of the primary grades can produce such distractions in the classrooms that teaching in the senior forms is almost impossible, and is quite often suspended for a brief period.

An exception to the predominantly secular afternoon is the work of a small, specially selected group of primary school boys. They are taught by a male Jew in a small, prefabricated hut in the girls' playground. Their studies are almost entirely Jewish, with biblical study taking place at the table in the *shul* under the guidance of a senior teaching rabbi. Even at such an early age the knowledge of these young pupils is extensive, and rivals that of many sixth-formers. This is the equivalent of the traditional *cheder* or elementary Jewish school, which is the prelude to higher Jewish studies and a life devoted to Jewish learning.

By 4.15 p.m. all the primary grades and Forms 1 and 2 have departed, with the exception of a small group which remains behind to take studies in the Mishnah (*Mishnayis*) under the tuition of a senior teaching rabbi. They work from 4.10 p.m. until 5 p.m. The class is voluntary for primary grades, but supposedly compulsory for junior forms. Despite this, not all from Forms 1 and 2 attend.

Boys in the middle and senior school continue secular work under either full-time or part-time secular staff. Third-formers go home after one period; the remainder continue until 5.30 p.m. Matriculation students in some subjects may have to continue studying well into the evening if this is the only time available for a part-time teacher. Their work is strictly secular. *Maariv*, the Evening Prayer, is said at home in private, or at the local synagogue. For many senior boys, another period of religious study is undertaken before going to bed.

More time for religious work is available at school on Sunday.

Classes for Grade 5 and above are held at the school between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. It is a school rule that all students at these levels should attend. Senior students are exempted when they have to take secular instruction on the same day if their teacher cannot come at another time. As on week-days between 8.50 and 10.50 a.m. the drone of activity in the classrooms continues uninterrupted by sport or games in the yard. Apart from the one or two part-time secular teachers, who might be taking a class for a secular subject, the remaining teachers are all Jewish rabbis or lay staff as on week-days.

Daily routine for two boys of the Book

What does this time-table mean for Jewish boys? Those in the fourth form are a representative sample of those in the secondary school who are *barmitzvah*.[1] Their daily and weekly routines were compiled in considerable detail during the research, and illustrate how boys in the sample spend their time in response to the demands of the two traditions.

Without exception all boys include basically similar activities in their daily routines; only the order in which some occur and the time devoted to each vary from boy to boy. Sleep, prayers, meals, religious studies, secular studies at school, homework, recreation, and incidentals such as washing, dressing, and travelling to school constitute a boy's weekly activities. What marks him off from the *goy*[2] is the time set aside for prayers and religious studies. It is quite considerable, even for those few boys who did not claim to be highly religious. To accommodate the demands of the religious life more mundane activities of sleeping, eating and recreation are adjusted accordingly. For several boys, it is necessary to get up at 5.45 a.m., though most others rise later, but all before 7 a.m. Going to bed for the majority occurs between 9.30 and 10.30 p.m.

From information on what can be termed an ideal type of fourth form 'average Orthodox boy', the following allocation of time to activities can be worked out. Prayers and religious duties receive one

1. The suggestion of Dr A. M. Hasofer, now Professor of Statistics at the University of New South Wales.
2. *Goy* (Heb.)—'people'. A term used to refer to the non-Jew (pl. *Goyim*).

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and a half hours per day. Religious studies receive three hours. Secular work (including homework) is allocated seven and a half to eight and a half hours. Together with an average of eight hours sleep, these activities total between 20 and 21 hours. The remaining time is given to meals, washing and dressing, domestic chores, and recreation. It is hardly necessary to comment that there is little time for a boy with such a routine to participate in organized, after-school sport of the type that can consume two hours per evening in many a non-Jewish independent school of the academic tradition.

A more Orthodox boy's time is even more restricted. The 'young Chassid'—another ideal type constructed from several boys in Form 4, but relating to no one boy in particular—has the following allocation of time. Prayers take some two hours; religious studies take five hours. The latter include an hour or more of private Talmud study in the evening before *Maariv* and dinner. A further hour of religious study might be taken later in the evening before going to bed. Secular work at school takes about five hours, the same time as for the average Orthodox boy, but homework is reduced to about an hour in the evening. Recreation time is also reduced. During the day it consists of the 10 minutes break before 11 o'clock in the morning, the 40 minutes or so at lunch time, 10 minutes at four o'clock in the afternoon and perhaps half an hour or so in the evening—a total of one and a half hours a day. Sleep might be reduced to seven or seven and a half hours. Eating might even be curtailed to the morning and evening meals, as in the case of one of the most Orthodox boys who does not eat lunch.

Contrasts between the week-end routines

Week-ends, the Sabbath and Sunday, show the most striking contrast between the young Chassid and the average Orthodox boy in routine. Secular work stops entirely for the duration of the Sabbath for both, of course, in accordance with biblical commandment. This lasts from sunset on the Friday evening until sunset on the Saturday. During this period, prayers and religious services take up some six to seven hours for all. For the young Chassid, religious study takes up the majority of Saturday afternoon between the two main services, and part of the evening after *Maariv*. Sunday activities can include some four hours or

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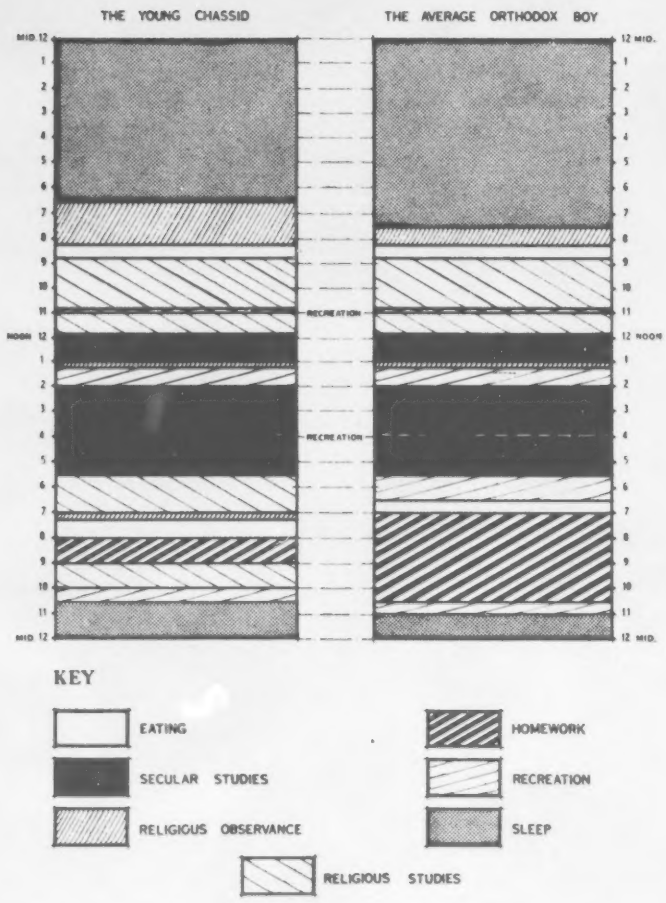

N.B. PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES (WASHING, DRESSING ETC.) OMITTED.

Figure 1. A diagrammatic comparison of the week-day routine of the young Chassid and the average Orthodox boy

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more of religious study: a period between *Shacharis* and *Minchah*, two lengthy periods in the afternoon and one after *Maariv* in the evening. In addition to these studies on Sunday, a limited time might be allocated for secular homework in the morning before religious study. More recreation time would be available, however, between the two periods of religious study in the afternoon. The only recreation on the Sabbath might have come just before bed which could occur later than on week-days.

In contrast, the average Orthodox boy might put in two to three hours of religious study between the two Sabbath services or after *Maariv* in the evening. Some six boys do not study at all on Saturday according to their weekly time-tables. They have lengthy recreation periods instead. Not all boys attend the school for Sunday morning religious classes, but those who do spend about an hour at religious study. A considerable part of Sunday is devoted to recreation.

The way time is utilized in the school shows the obvious influence of both traditions, but it is clear that more emphasis is placed on catering for the Great Tradition than the academic, especially in out-of-school time. The time-table of the young Chassid illustrates this most strikingly. It is also important to note that small periods of time are used by many boys to carry out the various *mitzvot* which are a feature of Orthodox Judaism. Religious studies and observances are given their due prominence, especially in the case of the young Chassid, again in close adherence to the Law. They are not so prominent in the time-table of the average Orthodox boy, but still occupy an appreciable part of his day.

Although the academic tradition is given its due amount of time, in terms of secular studies at school and homework, one thing missing, which would be clearly featured in the time-table of other independent schools, is the time devoted to sport. This does not feature very largely in any boy's time-table. Sport is not given priority, especially in terms of the regular after-school practice and week-end fixtures so common in the independent school system. The latter would be ruled out in any case by the demands of the Sabbath. A small proportion of less observant boys do belong to sports teams that play on Saturday afternoons, but they are the exceptions rather than the rule. In this aspect of school life, the Great Tradition clearly outweighs the academic.

5
The Ceremonial Organization of Tradition

Ritual and ceremony are important ways of reinforcing and organizing the transmission of tradition. In a school, they are components in the learning experiences available to the children, and thereby help to transmit its particular emotional patterns and collective beliefs. In consequence, group cohesiveness is strengthened, important historical associations and their meanings are rehearsed, and reinforced for each generation of pupils.

The distinction between ritual and ceremony is taken here to be one of scale and complexity rather than of kind. A ceremony is a more or less formal, standardized sequence of rituals performed or celebrated collectively by a group. Rituals can be performed by an individual acting alone. In the preceding chapters, several examples have been noted: reciting a Blessing, washing hands, touching the *mezuzah*. Secular activity in school can also be ritualized, for example, putting up one's hand to attract attention in class, standing up when someone enters the room.

By such ritualization, actions are invested with an importance which transcends their mere performance. 'Ritual in humans generally refers to a relatively rigid pattern of acts specific to a situation which construct a framework of meaning over and beyond the specific situational meanings' (Bernstein et al., 1971: 160). As defined, ceremonies are collectively performed rituals, and thus also construct frameworks of meaning. The main concern of this chapter is with the types of ceremonies that can be distinguished in the school, and the extent to which they strengthen the duality that has begun to emerge in previous chapters.

Types of ceremonies

Devising typologies is generally fraught with dangers but an attempt is made in this section to devise a schema of ceremonies that were

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witnessed in the school over the year. It can first be considered in 'secular' terms as transmitting two 'cultures': an instrumental one and an expressive one. The former consists of 'activities, procedures and judgments' involved in the acquisition of specific (vocationally important) skills. The latter consists of 'activities, procedures and judgments involved in the transmission of values and their derived norms' (Bernstein et al., loc. cit.).

The expressive/instrumental dichotomy is familiar in anthropology, being applied usually to ritual and ceremony. It thus seems appropriate to take the view that the school transmits the instrumenral culture through instrumental ceremonies and the expressive culture through expressive ceremonies. Thus, equating 'secular' with the academic tradition, we might expect to find in the life of the school ceremonies that relate to the acquisition of knowledge and skills appropriate to the academic curriculum, and ceremonies that convey its 'values and their derived norms'.

We can assume that the Great Tradition is also transmitted by rituals and ceremonies, which are both religious and infused with the sum total of Jewishness (*Yiddishkeit*), albeit with a strong Lubavitcher quality. It seems proper to refer to this element of the school as religious. Following Robertson (1970 : 54 ff.), we can apply the instrumental expressive dichotomy to its 'orientations to religious activity'. Thus, allowing for both religious and secular activities in the school, and the two types of ceremonies relating to each, four distinctions can be cross-tabulated as in the following schema.[1]

Four types of ceremonial orientation can be distinguished. The first can be termed the **expressive-religious** type of ceremony. This entails collective religious rituals relating to the 'transmission of values and their derived norms'. Those persons involved are adherents of the ideology and congregation associated with the school. The second type of ceremony can be termed **instrumental-religious,** in which collective rituals are used to disseminate aspects of the ideology, particularly its associated knowledge and skills, in order to persuade others of its desirability or superiority. A clear manipulative element is present,

1. Based on a similar schema of Robertson, but substituting 'expressive' for his term 'consummatory'.

Table 2. Types of ceremonial orientation

Ceremonial	Tradition	
	Religious (Great Tradition)	Secular (academic tradition)
Expressive	1	3
Instrumental	2	4

with ceremony being a means to an end, rather than an end in itself.

The third and fourth types are those associated with the academic tradition. **Expressive-secular** ceremonies are designed to express the values and norms of the school as an academic institution. **Instrumental-secular** ceremonies involve activities relating to the acquisition of knowledge and skills which are likely to be *vocationally* important. As with their religious counterparts, **instrumental-secular** ceremonies are manipulative and involve altering or attempting to alter the status quo, even if only to improve standards of academic achievement.

We can discuss a number of distinguishing features common to each of the types of ceremonial orientations along the lines of Sklare (1958 : 357), who applies the features to religious worship. These are the **program, content,** and **form** of the ceremonies. The first refers to the set times and customary occasions for holding ceremonies. The second refers to their logical and philosophical justification in terms of interdependent beliefs, traditions, myths, and principles. The third refers to the 'external appearances' of the ceremonies—the behavioural outcomes, expressed attitudes, and shared goals. As Sklare notes, content and form are strictly inseparable, but are distinguished separately here for purposes of analysis.

Expressive-religious ceremonies

The program

The school meticulously follows the religious calendar of Orthodox Judaism. Expressive-religious ceremonies are held on a daily and weekly basis. Other prominent ceremonies are *calendrical*, marking stages in the

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annual cycle of activities. The weekly Sabbath, the three set times for daily prayer, and the major Festivals and Fasts constitute the basic program.

The Sabbath and daily prayers have been discussed above, and the emphasis was placed on their function in making time available for religious worship. The major Festivals are also important occasions for worship, but their nature and dominant themes are thrown into relief, however, when they are considered *en bloc*. There are five Festivals observed during the year: the three Pilgrim Festivals (*Pesach*, *Shavuot* and *Succos*), *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. To these biblical Festivals have been added some post-biblical ones. These are divided into full Festivals, with their special ceremonial and Liturgy (*Purim* and *Chanukah*), and semi-Festivals such as the anniversary of the traditional death of Moses, the New Year of Trees, *Lag ba-Omer*, and *Hoshana Rabbah*.

There are six Fasts which the observant Jew must observe during the year. Of these the most stringent are *Yom Kippur* and *Tisha B'Av*, which both last 24 hours. The period of abstention for the remainder is from daybreak until nightfall. Apart from *Yom Kippur*, all Fasts which coincide with the Sabbath are generally observed on the Sunday following.

Content of ceremonies

The ideological justification for the ceremonial life of Orthodox Judaism has involved complex rabbinical debate which cannot be explored at length here. Some indication of its complexity emerged in drawing up the value orientation typology, but it seems possible to bring together some of the interdependent ideas about which some consensus seems to have been established.

Ceremonies have an underlying ideology which stresses their consecratory and disciplinary function expressing the Jew's fealty to God. As Epstein has commented: 'Consecration is also the keynote of the multiplicity of rites that encompass the life of the Jew' (Epstein, 1959 : 161). As ceremonies have historical roots dating back to biblical times, historicity seems an important component in ceremonial. The Pilgrim Festivals combine motives of agricultural thanksgiving and commemoration of major historical events in the life of the Jewish people.

Pesach commemorates the anniversary of the Exodus from Egypt; *Shavuot*, the Revelation upon Mount Sinai; *Succos*, the 40 years wandering in the wilderness. In contrast, the Festivals of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* 'are celebrated as purely religious occasions of judgment, atonement, and reconciliation with God' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965 : 144). However their historical origins are still obvious in the biblical injunctions on which they are based.

All Fasts are similarly derived from historical events or, as in the case of *Yom Kippur*, a specific biblical injunction 'ye shall afflict your souls' (Lev. 23 : 27). The remainder are days of mourning commemorating tragic events in Jewish history. Four of them date back to the period of the First Temple, or immediately after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C.E.[2] The Fast of Esther (*Adar 13*), to celebrate the delivery of the Jews from the tyrant Haman, was a later addition.

Collectivity is a closely related component of ceremonial. It is part and parcel of ceremony by definition, but the collective character of ceremonies is given explicit recognition in Judaism. It is firstly apparent in the liturgical, as opposed to the biblical, names for the Pilgrim Festivals, in which the term 'our' occurs. *Pesach* is 'The Season of our Freedom'; *Shavuot* 'The Season of the Giving of our *Torah*'; *Succos* 'The Season of our Rejoicing'. Collectivity is clearly apparent in the Liturgy and worship which are fundamental to all ceremonies. Although worship is collective, its style is 'individualistic, informally-conducted and worshipper-centred' (Sklare, 1958 : 653 f.n. 12). These are the connotations of the Yiddish term *daven* meaning 'pray', as witnessed in Orthodox *shuls*.

Form of ceremonies

The outcomes of the interdependent content components of consecration, historicity, collectivity of worship, and style of prayer are various types of interaction incidents which involve boys and adult members of the congregation attending the *shul*. Although this is but one of the settings in which such incidents occur, it is there that

2. As the Jewish calendar is lunisolar, exact equivalence in the Julian or Gregorian calendars cannot be fixed. The approximate months in which the fasts occur are: *Tisha B'Av (Av 9)*—late July or more usually August; *Tammuz 17*—July; *Tishrei 3*—September; *Tevet 10*—late December, early January.

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expressive-religious ceremonies are most obviously conducted in a manner sanctioned both by tradition and Holy Writ. In the following account, no attempt can be made to describe fully every major ceremony I attended. Instead, I try to catch something of the 'flavour' of ceremonial life in the *shul*—the general patterns of collective behaviour and its concomitant emotional dynamics.

Participants in the majority of ceremonies comprise adult men and women, and children of both sexes. There seems to be no problem of obtaining a *minyan* of adult males, as not only laity but also young Lubavitcher rabbis *daven* in the *shul*.[3] This may seem unexceptional, but other synagogues in the area cannot always gather the necessary *minyan*. This was brought home to me when I overheard F——— in my form urgently pleading with a friend to come to his small synagogue and make up a *minyan* for *Maariv*. Some days previously, he had told me that his family had moved into the neighbourhood of the school, because getting a *minyan* in his former suburb had been virtually impossible.

Although worship is collective in the *shul*, participants are physically separated according to the sexes. Women and adolescent girls sit in the balcony. Their separation from the men is compounded by the muslin curtain, which is an effective screen during most services. However, at ceremonies such as the Reading of the *Megillah* (The Scroll of Esther) at *Purim*, or during *Simchas Torah*—both occasions of rejoicing and mild, licensed merry-making—the curtain is dispensed with altogether. Even during the Sabbath services, it is not uncommon to see women drawing the curtain aside momentarily for a quick peep at the proceedings below.

Breakdown of sexual separation, with a consequent increase in the informality of the proceedings, occurs to an extent from the custom of 'visiting'. Small children of both sexes wander into the main chamber of the *shul* to find their fathers, or may accompany them for part of the service. During the procession of the Scrolls at *Simchas Torah*, or throughout the Reading of the *Megillah*, small children take an active role in proceedings. In the former they join the procession, carrying small scrolls or flags. In the latter they help raise the derisive cacophony

3. *Minyan*: the 10 adult males needed for prayer.

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with rattles (*groggers*), or by banging and stamping whenever the name of the 'villain' Haman occurs, as the reader tells the story from the *bimah*. Their too energetic participation in this tradition, which dates back to the thirteenth century in Germany and France, earns them frowns from the adults or a reprimand from the bursar. He scurries anxiously around, stopping small boys from banging pew lids up and down, or hitting them with various objects.

Adolescent boys are in the congregation as a matter of course, or worship in an adjoining room at services conducted by the Lubavitcher Youth. Occasionally an older girl is sent down from the balcony to fetch a small child, but comes only to the door of the main hall without venturing in. She either manages to signal to the child, or gets a message relayed to her father by other members of the congregation.

Involvement of young children and adolescent boys and girls is thus a notable feature of life in the *shul*. They are always there on Sabbaths and Festivals, boys dressed in best suits and wearing hats or *yarmelkehs* —miniature editions of their fathers—girls in best dresses. Little ones wander around freely. Young boys may keep together in small groups, taking part in worship, or chatting and sometimes sky-larking so that they earn a reprimand from nearby adults. Older youths keep in smaller groups, and are more conscious of their religious duties. On occasions, however, this does not prevent them looking up to the balcony to catch a glimpse of the girls present, or obviously indulging in social gossip during the Readings. The most serious youths take an active part in worship. Some congregate in small groups around the *bimah* during prayer and Readings, others *daven* with fervour in the aisles at the side of the hall.

The presence of children and youths accentuates a marked feature of all the ceremonies I attended—the informality and mobility of adult participants. Pews are available and some are occupied at all times, but men frequently wander out of the main hall during the Reading or repetition of some prayers for a chat or smoke in the foyer. Meanwhile the service continues behind the heavy swing doors that separate it from the hall. Even inside there is an impression of incessant motion and apparent lack of order. Some men sit relatively still in their pews intent on devotions, only rising and moving at the appropriate ritual

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moments in the Liturgy. Others are constantly turning around to look at others, or occasionally half rise and lean over to talk to a neighbour. Apparently inattentive, worshippers' eyes rove around the *shul* glancing here and there. Heads crane to catch a glimpse of an acquaintance, a hand automatically flicks the *tallit* over the shoulder from which it has fallen or more dramatically sweeps it back into position.

Many worshippers stand and move around in the aisles or the space at the back of the *shul* behind the pews. Some of their movement is purely spontaneous, while parts of it are related to the ritual gestures associated with prayer. This is particularly evident in the genuflexions and prescribed steps at various points in the *Shemoneh Esreh*[4], a Silent Prayer which constitutes the most important part of the Morning Service next to the *Shema*. The Lubavitcher rabbis, some conspicuous in their black silk *kapotas*, *gartels*, and broad-brimmed black hats, are more emphatic in their movements than others.[5] On occasions, their actions have a charismatic flamboyance, accentuated by their distinctive dress and the intangible authority of their general demeanour. They are always quick to start the Chassidic chanting and hand-clapping if the mood and moment of festive ceremonies are appropriate. One senses that here is something of the euphoric *hithlahabuth* of the Chassidim, the 'paratroopers of religion' to adopt Firth's (1964 : 294) description of dedicated religious mystics.

Despite the apparent disorder and lack of decorum, due in part to there being no distinction between the secular and sacred in Judaism, there is always present in the *shul* a basic reverence and devotion, accentuated by symbolic rituals of many kinds. As the Scroll is taken from the Ark to the *bimah* by a rabbi, worshippers move forward to touch or kiss it reverently. On *Simchas Torah* when all Scrolls are processed, it is *mitzvah* for all to perform this act. As many as possible press around the Scrolls, cradled carefully in the arms of those carrying them in the euphoric seven circuits (*hakkaphot*) of the hall. Children are held up to kiss the Scrolls, and those old enough may even have an opportunity to carry one in the circle dancing that occurs on this

4. *Shemoneh Esreh* (Heb.)—'Eighteen Benedictions'; more usually known as the *Amidah*, the 'prayer to be said standing'.

5. *Kapota* (Yidd.)—a calf-length, black coat worn by extremely Orthodox Jews and Chassidim; *gartel* (Yidd.)—girdle made of black silk or wool.

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Festival after the service. Reading the Scroll is similarly invested with symbolic actions that heighten the reverence in which it is held.

At *Succos*, symbolism is a dominant aspect during the *Hallel* prayer on each of the days of the Festival. After reciting the appropriate Benediction—'to take the *lulav*', adult males hold the four species in their hands, and 'wave' them while reciting the Psalms constituting the prayer. 'Waving' consists of making jabbing movements of the four species in four directions as well as upwards and downwards. They are also carried in a circuit of the synagogue on each of the days. The spectacle of waving palm fronds and absorbed, devoted, ritual movements in the *shul* is a memorable one. It emphasizes dramatically the ancient, historical basis of Orthodox Judaism, in obedience to the biblical injunction,

> And ye shall take you on the first day of the fruit of goodly trees; branches of palm trees, boughs of thick trees and willows of the brook and rejoice before the Lord your God seven days (Lev. 23: 40).

The four species (Heb. *Arbaah minim*) are traditionally made up of one palm branch (*lulav*), held in the right hand, one *esrog* (a species of citrus fruit) held in the left hand, three sprigs of myrtle and two willow twigs which are bound together and held with the *lulav*.

Such a description conveys little of the Lubavitcher style with which this particular ceremony is carried out. The day I attended, about a quarter of the congregation had the four species. Before *Hallel* many left the hall to fetch them. The *shammas* beckoned me out to the communal *succah* at the back of the dining room where a bustle of activity was taking place.[6] Men were straightening their *lulavim*, or arranging the willow fronds by passing them with a caressing motion through their fingers. After the 'waving' in the *shul* the circuit began. All those with the four species joined in, chanting quietly. One or two fathers carried their little sons in the procession. The rabbi beckoned other children to the *bimah* where he handed them sweets fished from his pocket. While members of the congregation filed out after the service,

6. *Shammas* (Heb.)—'servant'. A key official in the *shul*, and equivalent to a church sexton. Duties include keeping some order during worship, supplying visiting members of the congregation with *tallisim* (prayer shawls) or prayer books if they have none, and making communal announcements—in this *shul* in Yiddish.

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the rabbi and other Lubavitchers started a Chassidic round dance, with several rabbinical students and boys from the school. The rabbi carried a little boy during the euphoric dancing, hand-clapping and chanting of 'oi, oi, oi'. While I watched, my friend's son came up to invite me to a meal in the *succah* his parents shared with the *shammas* and others living in the same block of flats.

The emotional fervour evident on this occasion, as at many other ceremonies, owed much to Chassidic and Eastern European influences. Purely religious rituals such as the spine-chilling blasts of the *shophar* on *Rosh Hashanah*, or the rabbi's deeply moving rendition of *Kol Nidrei* which commences *Yom Kippur*, have an intrinsic emotional impact. Their effects are heightened by the often unobtrusive Chassidic style of conducting worship. In concentrating on the *bimah* during the Reading of the Scroll, I almost missed noticing a rabbi leaning across the vacated prayer desk at the front of the *shul*. This is an old Chassidic custom, I was informed. While *Torah* is being read, a Chassid must guard the prayer desk. Unless told, I would also have been unaware that the Lubavitchers use their own variation of Hebrew and Aramaic in prayers; one they consider more akin to the original language of the Bible.

Some customs, whether of Eastern European folk or Chassidic origin, are more obtrusive. The rabbi in white *kittel*, patrolling the *shul* during the long Morning Service of *Yom Kippur*, hushes the gossip of a group of men seated at the back of the hall, then offers us all a pinch of snuff from a small silver box.[7] 'Phew! That's strong,' comments one with a wry grimace, 'but it will keep me awake'. Of Eastern European tradition also is the custom of auctioning Readings of the *Torah* or the privilege of officiating at various rituals to do with unbinding, holding and rebinding the Scroll on the *bimah*. On *Rosh Hashanah*, for instance, many honours were auctioned by the *shammas*, the proceedings being conducted as usual in Yiddish.

Young Lubavitcher rabbis and boys from the school formed a solid group in front of the *bimah* on this occasion, and were a focus of much prayer and song. The rabbi frequently turned to them to whip up the singing with broad sweeps of his clenched hands. The obvious fervour they generated was a welcome spur to devotion in a service which, by

7. *Kittel*—a long ankle-length white robe worn by traditional *Ashkenazim* during prayers on *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*.

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that time, had already lasted some three hours on into the early afternoon. It finished at about 2 p.m.

However, the expression of Orthodox devotion was still not exhausted. Some 80 or so members of the congregation walked to a nearby beach later that afternoon—a distance of about two miles—where they were joined by a large group from other Orthodox *shuls* for the ceremony of *Tashlikh*.[8] At this, Blessings and Readings from Scripture are recited, and males shake their *tzitzit* over the water as a symbolic casting of sins into the sea. After *Tashlikh*, all danced on the sand.

Instrumental-religious ceremonies

The program

Highly similar to expressive-religious ceremonies are those that are related to religious or traditional beliefs, but do not form part of the official religious calendar. Instrumental-religious ceremonies thus need not necessarily adhere to any set timing, and can even be arranged on a more or less *ad hoc* basis. I witnessed two such ceremonies during the year and can comment briefly on a third held just after I left the school. Others, such as the welcome to the six Lubavitcher rabbis, were held at times when I could not be present. A *Siyum Ha-Torah* celebration, marking the completion of a new *Sefer Torah* (Scroll of the Law), was held in late August. This date was contingent upon the new Scroll's arrival from Jerusalem, where it had been especially written for the congregation. A *Torah* Evening at which boys demonstrated their knowledge and skills in Jewish studies was held in mid-September. In the following year just prior to *Pesach*, a school assembly was held to mark the break-up for this important Festival.

Content of ceremonies

Although there are religious overtones in all the instrumental-religious ceremonies their ideological bases seem subtly different. Firstly, they are opportunities to extol by word and deed the desirability of the group's way of life, its knowledge and skills. In consequence the collective rituals have a strong hortative component, in which remarks stress

8. A custom originating in the late Middle Ages based on Micah 7 : 19 'He will again have compassion upon us; He will subdue our iniquities; and Thou wilt cast (Heb. *tashlikh*) all their sins into the depths of the sea'.

the significance of what is occurring, point to a moral, and emphasize the desirability of adopting such a way of life or ideology. In short, the beliefs of the participants are being manipulated, if only to the extent of being reinforced. In contrast, the expressive-religious ceremonies 'speak for themselves'.

The message is enhanced by an emphasis on tradition which comes through in both what is said at the ceremony and how it is conducted. Precept is allied to example. A clear sense of the instrumental function of the ceremony—ceremonial as a means to a defined, foreseen end, rather than an end in itself—colours what occurs. In consequence, much stress is laid on the future outcomes which can be anticipated provided the exhortations are heeded. This future-orientation is most apparent in ceremonies that anticipate or foreshadow an expressive-religious ceremony to come. Its dominant theme is used to point the moral of the exhortations.

Form of ceremonies

The two instrumental-religious ceremonies I attended were sufficiently self-contained and unique during the year to be described in full rather than, as above, by drawing out significant features common to a larger number of ceremonies.

The *Torah* Evening, which had been advertised in the Jewish press a week earlier, started at about 7.30 p.m. on a week-day in the main hall of the *shul*. In contrast to the Sabbath and Festival occasions, the balcony curtains were raised so that some 20 or so women and girls could watch proceedings. About 30 to 40 men, including the boys' teachers, constituted the remainder of the audience.

Proceedings got off to a ragged start. Informality seemed to be the keynote of the evening, with the rabbi acting as compere and speaking almost exclusively in Yiddish, often addressing members of the audience personally. He moved around the *bimah* while boys gave their recitations, occasionally interjecting in approval, correcting here and there, or questioning to find out what had been done. Meanwhile the boys' male teachers fussed around their pupils, obviously nervous and apprehensive as to how they would perform. Several remained close to the *bimah* to help where needed, adjust a faulty microphone, or lend moral support (Plate 3).

In an introductory speech in Yiddish, the rabbi mentioned that excerpts from *TeNaCh*, *Chumash*, the Mishnah, *Gemara*, and the Lubavitcher Rebbe's letters and addresses would make up the program. Reference was also made to *pilpulim* (discussions).

A small group of Grade 2 boys then recited the names of the *Parshes* of the *Torah*, and recited excerpts.[9] Before this more formal rendition they sang a little song in Hebrew incorporating the days of the week. They were over-excited, and would have gone on and on had not the rabbi checked them quickly. Grade 3 followed with a short synopsis of the *Sidros Lech Lecha* and *Vayera*, and both translated into English and gave explanations of various parts.[10]

Two Grade 4 boys from the special group studying the Mishnah explained two *mishnos* of the tractate *Shabbos*.[11] These were followed by Grade 5 boys who conversed in modern Hebrew about the High Holy Days. A student from Grade 6 gave an explanation in Yiddish of the Judicial System, *Sanhedrin*.

The rabbi took a more active role when introducing boys from the secondary forms. One senior boy was referred to as 'our young Chassid and scholar', and a group of fourth and fifth form boys as *yeshivah bocherim*—students of Talmudic high school. A third form boy was introduced in glowing terms as a brilliant scholar and the son of a rabbi in Sydney, himself a noted scholar. The tone of the rabbi's comments undoubtedly indicated a high regard for religious scholarship, which he wished to convey to the audience.

The fourth and fifth form boys gave a commentary on a Talmudic tractate, reading in Hebrew with immediate translation into English. Commentary, counter-arguments and conclusion were discussed in pilpulistic, dialectical style. The more senior students gave individual speeches. One, in Yiddish on the *mitzvot* associated with *Rosh Hashanah*, was read with considerable maturity of style and oratory by a matriculation boy. Also read was part of a letter on *Rosh Hashanah* from the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

9. *Parshes* (Yidd.)—'portions' (Heb. pl. *parashiyyot*). The 54 scriptural readings into which the Pentateuch is divided.
10. Two *parashiyyot*—Genesis 12:1–17:22 and 18:1–22:24.
11. One of the 12 tractates into which the second order (*Moed*—'Appointed times') of the six orders of the Mishnah is divided. *Mishnos*—chapters within a tractate.

The *tour-de-force* was undoubtedly the performance of the rabbi's son from Sydney. He gave a Talmudic commentary *in Yiddish* entirely from memory for a period of some 10 minutes. There was no falter whatsoever, although the delivery style was of monotonous intensity, in a metallic tone, and lacking the warmth of the matriculation student. I had heard such memorized recitals before. On his *Bar Mitzvah*, the son of a prominent Lubavitcher had given the traditional Talmudic discourse at the feast which followed Morning Service. He spoke in Yiddish for nearly 15 minutes entirely from memory, while his rabbi followed the speech from a written copy held unobtrusively under the table at which we were sitting. Both performances were undoubted feats of memory, but far from uncommon in Jewish scholarship. Rumour had it that this rabbi himself knew all five Books of the Pentateuch by heart.

On the *Torah* evening, many of those present in the audience obviously appreciated the *pilpul* and followed it closely, nodding at points in the argument, and giving spontaneous exclamations of approval when it was completed. The young Sydney scholar's performance drew warm applause, from both the audience and the rabbi personally. Swinging around triumphantly to those present, he congratulated the boy in ringing Yiddish with a warmth that again indicated the high value placed on the knowledge and skills the evening demonstrated. Despite his obvious enthusiasm, however, towards the end of the evening which ended at 9.30 p.m., several adults showed signs of wanting to leave but were persuaded to stay. Many of the smaller boys were obviously over-excited and needed some firm controlling at times, although the keynote of the whole evening was its informality and homeliness.

In contrast, the *Siyum Ha-Torah* was a much more elaborate affair. The new Scroll had arrived in Melbourne some days earlier to an enthusiastic welcome (Plate 4). A formal invitation to attend was extended to the whole Melbourne Jewish community through a large advertisment in the Jewish press, as well as in a circular to parents of boys at the school. The celebration, held on a Sunday morning, was very well attended and resulted in a packed, excited *shul*. When I arrived, there was the usual jam of people in the foyer and outside. Several rabbis bustled around importantly in obvious excitement.

The Lubavitchers were dressed in their *kaftans* and *gartels*. Other men wore either semi-formal or business suits. Children and women also wore semi-formal clothing. The 'smart' appearance associated with *Shabbos* was not so evident at the *Siyum*.

Inside the main hall, a crowd surged around the rear table where the bursar was selling silken lapel badges for 10 dollars and 18 dollars. These showed letters chosen by members of the congregation who wished to have them ritually inscribed in the new Scroll. They were printed in blue on a silver background. A senior boy came up and welcomed me. He had two letters pinned to his lapel. One was in memory of his uncle who died in a concentration camp, he informed me, the other was for himself. Throughout the hall there was an air of barely suppressed excitement and happiness. People surged around, fathers carrying little sons or daughters.

After much shouting in Yiddish and gesticulating, two Lubavitcher rabbis managed to shepherd everybody into the hall. We all sat down or stood around gossiping, or just waiting. The women in the balcony pulled back the curtains, and peered keenly down at the assembled men, waving to acquaintances or relatives. It would be difficult for anything happening in the hall that would not be noted immediately, relayed to others and discussed with animation.

We all stood as the Ark was opened by the rabbi, and all the Scrolls taken out to be cradled lovingly in the arms of other rabbis. It is traditional at a *Siyum* that these Scrolls are taken out to meet the new Scroll and accompany it back so that it should not feel lonely. As they were processed through the hall, men pressed forward to kiss or touch them reverently. Children were lifted up to see the Scrolls, and some were held forward so they too could touch them. The excitement level increased, and many men moved towards the doors of the main hall, leaving their seats to get a position in the centre aisle.

Chassidic chanting and the sound of a violin accompanied by an accordian were heard from outside. Through the doorway came a group clustered closely around a maroon and gold canopy, under which moved a rabbi cradling the new Scroll in his arms. Four Lubavitcher rabbis held the thick, banded white and red poles supporting the canopy (Plate 5). Grouped around the carrier of the new Scroll were other rabbis carrying the old Scrolls. Boys in school uniform,

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young Lubavitcher rabbis and Talmudical students were packed in a tight circle around those carrying the canopy and Scrolls, each with his hands on the shoulders of the one in front. All kept time in a fast but rhythmic jogging step to the chanting and mazurka-like tempo of the musical instruments. The violinist preceded the group playing energetically. Dressed in velvet coat and velvet *yarmelke* he presented a timeless picture that might well have been taken from life in an Eastern European *shtetl*.[12]

Gradually the whole group trotted the Scroll to the *bimah*. As they proceeded, the Chassidic chanting and clapping were taken up by others in the hall. On reaching the *bimah*, the four poles were placed in sockets so that the canopy covered the platform. Underneath, all was great bustle and excitement as rabbis mounted the steps to cluster around the Scroll. By this time the *bimah* was very crowded. Fathers held children above their heads to watch what was happening as the wrappings were carefully unfastened, and rabbis bent over it to examine the Scroll.

After a short prayer intoned from the *bimah*, the rabbi addressed the audience mostly in Yiddish, but occasionally translated his comments into English. A tall, dominating figure in front of the *parokhet*, he spoke with passionate intensity, punctuating his comment with dramatic gestures, clenched fists shaking or a finger stabbing the air at points of emphasis. This day, went the gist of his message, the community welcomed into the *shul* a new *Torah* especially written in Israel. The Talmud tells us to 'write a *Sefer Torah*' but this is not the culminating achievement. We do more than this. The high point of writing a *Torah* is that it be used to teach Jewish children, and the *Torah* must never be forgotten. In carrying out the ceremony, the community wants to see that all parents make sure that their children learn the *Torah* as the only real way of life.

Several years ago there was a tragedy when the old *shul* had been burned down and all its Scrolls destroyed. But if we recall this, we must also recall that thousands of *Torahs* are being 'destroyed' in our homes unless their study is actively pursued. *Torah* pervades the whole

12. The almost self-contained small, Jewish town which existed in Eastern Europe prior to the Nazi holocaust. See Zborowski and Herzog (1952).

atmosphere of our lives, including the home. According to Talmud, the rabbi said, every Jew is represented in the *Torah* by a letter, but very few are given the chance of ever learning *Torah*. Such opportunities as there are should not be lost by anyone. We should also recall that one could participate in the *Torah* by having a letter inscribed. This is a great *mitzvah*.

The rabbi's concluding remark provoked a rush of people to the *bimah*, with men and boys craning their heads to watch the careful inscription of letters by the scribe (Plate 6). So many small boys tried to get onto the *bimah* that the rabbi had to call out in a more colloquial style than his speech: 'Now you kids, get back down out of it and let us have more room'. Obviously this was badly needed if the scribe was to write each letter without making a mistake, which would have been a catastrophe. Considerable ritual responsibility lay on his shoulders. He used a snowy white quill pen, and inscribed each letter with meticulous care to complete the *Sefer Torah*. Rabbis stood beside him watching intently. One had a handful of fresh quills available as needed.

Inscriptions went on for a considerable time. Meanwhile friends were meeting and yarning in the hall, and children ran around everywhere. At last, with all inscriptions completed, the traditional eight circuits of the hall took place with all the Scrolls carried in procession. Joyful chanting and hand-clapping accompanied the procession.

Both instrumental-religious ceremonies clearly call on many aspects of the Great Tradition for the manipulative exhortations to those who participate. These include representatives, but not all, of the school population. A ceremony I did not witness took place in the school hall prior to *Pesach* in 1970. A brief press report in *The Australian Jewish News* makes it clear that, again, the emphasis lay on using biblical and Talmudical references to exhort those present to adopt certain attitudes towards current problems in world Jewry and their role as Jews.

The ceremony was a school assembly to mark the break-up for *Pesach*. A fourth-former led the boys in a recital of Chapter Twenty of the Book of Psalms (*Tehillim*) for the welfare of Soviet Jewry. He was followed by a third-former, who delivered a speech on unity and fellowship. A fifth form boy, known for his personal piety, spoke on

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the self-sacrifice of Jews which brought about their Exodus from Egypt—the historical basis of the *Pesach* Festival. This, he concluded, would also bring true and everlasting redemption. The rabbi commented that love of a fellow Jew (*Ahavas Yisroel*) was also meant in a physical sense. The boys should remember that doing a favour for a Jew was included in the *Mitzvah* of *Ahavas Yisroel*.

Expressive-secular ceremonies

The program

Three major expressive-secular ceremonies occurred during the year. In chronological order they were a ceremony at which prefects were formally inducted and a well-respected member of staff officially farewelled, a ceremony marking a visit by Dr Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, and the school's Speech Night. The first two were held in the dining room adjoining the main hall of the *shul*. The last took place in the small recreation hall with stage facilities, attached to an old people's home some miles from the school.

Content of ceremonies

All the ceremonies were associated more with the academic than the Great Tradition though, as will be apparent, considerable overlap of the two occurred. Opportunities for holding this type of collective ritual relating to school life are created yearly, as schools are places in which major discontinuities occur for pupils and staff. Examinations and tests mark the completion of one phase of work and transition to the next. Cohorts of senior pupils leave at the end of the year, teachers retire, or transfer to other schools. At the start of the year a fresh cohort of junior pupils arrives, and all grades move up in seniority. Some pupils change status by becoming prefects; some teachers assume added responsibilities, new members of staff join the school. During the year important persons visit schools and address pupils. Routine is thereby disturbed, especially if the visit is used as an occasion to grant a school holiday.

Discontinuities are collectively celebrated, and include, for instance, rituals of induction (prefects), welcome (new staff), farewell (old staff), and prowess (Speech Night). The ceremonies at which these

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take place are important opportunities for those in authority to make ritual expression of major values of the school, its attitudes towards social and world problems, its role in education, and the desired conduct and norms it expects of those attending it. Such rituals are 'consensual and cohesive' (Bernstein et al., 1971 : 160). They serve to bind together staff and pupils in the form of a moral community with a collective identity based on shared values. An important component in ceremonial is reference to the school's history and traditions as measures of what should be done in the present, or should be done in the future. The school song, motto, and maxims of its founders are invoked as tangible reminders of all the school stands for and, hopefully, will continue to foster.

Form of ceremonies

After five weeks of school the first major assembly was held. All boys in the primary and secondary grades were seated in class groups, together with their teachers to maintain discipline. At a long white table facing the boys sat the Principal, the President of the School Council, a representative of the Old Boys Association, the President of the Ladies Committee, and the guest of honour—the master who had left the school at the end of the year and who was now being formally farewelled. The senior master acted as master of ceremonies.

The apparent rarity of assemblies was underlined by the senior master, who opened proceedings by complimenting the boys on their behaviour. They were indeed worthy of the school. His brief introductory speech about the function of the ceremony was liberally interspersed by anecdotal references to the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Hebrew terms and Talmudic sayings on the merits of the type of education the school exists to promulgate.

The President of Council followed, and stressed two great values the school strives to maintain—the value of secular learning for future careers and the broad base on which it should be maintained. This was the school's program of Orthodox religious studies, which would equip the boys to go into the future as good Jews and fathers. They should never forget their Jewish heritage. Through it they would be able to resist the obviously decaying morality and temptations of this day and age, especially in the wider society and at university. The

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President then announced the names of the new prefects and associate prefects, and complimented them on being selected to maintain the standards of the school.

The Principal's speech expressed basically similar sentiments to those of the President of Council. He also referred to the Jewish tradition of wishing departing friends 'plenty of *naches*' a term I was to hear at similar farewell ceremonies for members of staff during the year.[13] He also wished the retiring teacher long life, and stressed that his deeply religious values had contributed greatly to the school, and would help him attain longevity.

A similar blend of informality, Jewish folk style, and anecdotal speeches characterized the much more important ceremony to welcome Dr Nahum Goldmann during the last weeks in the school year. The official gathering took place in the dining hall, with all boys, staff, the Principal, and distinguished guests present (Plate 7). A welcoming speech from one of the fourth form students referred to the school's scholastic record and function as a centre of scholarship in Judaism, particularly at the Rabbinical College which is unique in Australia. If the school can produce boys who will bring a spark of *Yiddishkeit* to a world which is slowly drifting away, he stated, then its founders will have been successful.[14]

In his reply, Dr Goldmann said that the school was one of the great miracles of Jewish existence. It was an inspiring moment for him to see such an institution providing a full education steeped in the great traditions of the Jewish religion. He called upon the students to retain their solidarity with other Jewish communities, and with the Jewish past. Without unity with the past, he stated, there could be no Jewish future.

Following another song from the choir, the official party left for a brief tour of the school. It visited the adjoining girls school and *Yeshivah Gedolah* where Talmudic students were hard at work.

The final major expressive-secular ceremony for the year took place

13. *Naches* (Yidd.)—used here in the sense of psychological reward or gratification. More usually employed to refer to the proud pleasure or joy gained from the achievements of a child.

14. *Yiddishkeit* (Yidd.)—'Jewishness'; the Jewish way of life as expressed in the practice of the traditional Jewish religion and its customs.

soon after on a Wednesday evening during the *Chanukah* period. Speech Night is a traditional ending to the year in many educational establishments, and the school was no exception. In the previous weeks, students had been practising hard for their display items. The choir and drama group—both innovations during the latter part of the year—had been particularly active.

Proceedings in the hall took place before an audience of parents and boys from the school. No order was maintained in seating, and it was noticeable how casually people drifted in and out, scraped chairs noisily, or carried on obtrusive gossip prior to and even during some items. Also surprising was the number of men who wore neither a hat nor *yarmelkeh*. Children ran to and fro, adding to the almost continuous undercurrent of murmur and noise throughout the whole evening.

Before the actual Speech Night ceremony began, the Principal called the audience to some semblance of order, and a small boy stepped forward to light five of the eight candles on a small *menorah* standing on the right-hand corner of the stage. He lit the *shammas* ('servant') candle first, from which he proceeded to light the others.[15] As he did so he intoned the accompanying ritual blessing in Hebrew. Scattered 'Amens' from the audience echoed his recital.

Following a number of folk songs in Hebrew and dramatic items, a sixth form student gave the first speech on behalf of the matriculants using the by now familiar dramatic, oratorical style with frequent references to Talmud and the Bible in English and Hebrew. The school is of a special kind in which secular education is combined harmoniously with a thorough Jewish education. Such preparation had been of considerable success in leading to *Yiddishkeit*, producing Jews able to counter the great danger of assimilation which threatens the Jewish community.

But what is, and how do we measure, success, came the question in Talmudic style. In worldly terms, passing examinations, winning honours and scholarships, entering universities and technical colleges, and obtaining degrees and diplomas, students had been highly successful. But 'success' can also be defined in terms of students' integrity,

15. The additional candle attached to the *menorah* from which are kindled the other candles during *Chanukah*.

character and honesty—in short, *Menchlekeit*.[16] Thus, apart from a first-class secular education, the school also aims to convey to its students the message of how to conduct one's life in a proper Jewish manner.

To be a Jew, and lead a life compatible with the traditions of Judaism, the speaker went on, needs a certain strength of character, a purposeful direction, and depth of understanding of the real values of Judaism. However it is not sufficient to get an insight into Jewish history, or obtain knowledge of religious laws (*Dinim*) and the Bible. At the school this is combined with gaining an appreciation of *Gemara*, Rashi, *Tosaphot*, *Ramban* and other commentaries.[17] The aim is to arouse a yearning to search for future knowledge, and to combine this knowledge with practice.

The following speaker's comments also stressed the value of the training in *Torah* boys had received. So great had this been that when two or more boys sat down to discuss *Torah*, the spirit of holiness was with them at that time. *Torah* would be taken out into the world. More important, some boys would be returning for a year's higher study in the *Yeshivah Gedolah*. This last remark drew spontaneous and warm applause from the audience. A long anecdote followed in typical question, answer, question style likening *Torah* to the oil used to fill the *menorah* in biblical times in the *Chanukah* story. Each boy would take out into the world a portion of the 'oil' of the *Torah*. Even a little would be sufficient to keep them going through life as observant Jews.

Both speeches were a mixture of secular and religious themes. The former, in particular, referred to the dual aims of the school and the criticism it faced from some in the Jewish community for trying to do the two things, and putting religious studies before secular studies. The latter had not suffered, as the students' university results spoke for themselves.

Following another group of items, which, like the first, reflected both Jewish and non-Jewish influences, the Speech Night concluded. Although greatly different in style from those that other independent schools organize, it nevertheless contained all the elements of an

16. *Menchlekeit* (Yidd.)—behaviour characteristic of an upright, honourable, decent person.

17. *Ramban*—Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides). A noted philosopher and codifier who wrote important commentaries on the *Torah*.

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expressive-secular ceremony: stress on the values of the school, and their accompanying attitudes and goals. It had also been an occasion for the school to promote itself and its ideology to the public.

Instrumental-secular ceremonies

The program

Ceremonies of the type cited above comprise relatively large-scale, public, collective rituals with broad consensual and cohesive functions. The two instrumental-secular ceremonies described below were also public, but smaller in scale, and more diffuse than truly collective in that they took place on a number of occasions and at various locations in the school. They were the parent-teacher evenings held separately for primary, lower-middle, and senior grades, and the school Open Day. They took place during the middle and end of the year respectively.

Content of ceremonies

The ideological basis of instrumental-secular ceremonies is strictly concerned with the school's pedagogical functions. Their ideal aim is to promote good public relations between parents and school staff in the interests of both pupils and school. Meetings between parents and teachers are premissed on the assumption that a discussion of a boy's problems and possible solutions for them will improve what is being done for his vocational training. Such meetings are also opportunities for teachers to explain modern teaching methods, clarify the reasons for setting, or omitting to set, homework, and assure parents of the effectiveness of educational practices used at the school.

Open Days enable parents and others to see the school 'on show'. Work accomplished during the year is displayed, preference being given to items such as art and craft, maps and diagrams, project folders, which can be pinned up or put out to create a dramatic visual show. Parents are also able to sit in on lessons to see classes at work, or watch demonstrations in such subjects as Drama, Sport, Music, Science.

In both types of teacher-parent interaction there are clear manipulative elements. Either individually at face-to-face meetings, or collectively as as body, there is the tacit understanding among teachers that while their work may be criticized up to a point, beyond this they can defend their actions on the grounds of professional competence and

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training not possessed by the parents. Interviews are highly ritualized to provide room for a teacher to manouevre defensively if he encounters parental criticism. Displays of work and demonstrations are often deliberately contrived, not necessarily to deceive parents, but at least to present the best side of school work by concealing the less desirable and humdrum. Artificiality and a certain hypocrisy are unacknowledged ideological corollaries of many parent-teacher encounters. This rarely escapes the notice of any pupils who may be present.

Form of ceremonies

The parent-teacher interviews in which I was involved illustrated most of these features. Before we settled down to meet teachers individually one of the senior masters gave a short speech of welcome in which he stressed the essential aim of the evening—to discuss children's progress on an individual basis, at interviews that should be restricted to about 10 minutes each. After a further official expression of pleasure that so many parents had turned up, we started our interviewing on an individual basis. The Open Day has the same emphasis. The responsibility of greeting parents as a whole is largely the school's, but individuals are met by teachers in their own classrooms. This gives them the opportunity to interpret what the school is trying to do, and display the work and on-going activities of the classroom that further convey the message.

The ethos of Lubavitcher School

In the above descriptions of the ceremonial life of the school and its associated community, we can see something of the ethos that sets the overall tone of behaviours. This is 'the culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and emotions of the individuals' (Bateson, 1958 : 118) within the Lubavitcher School complex. Not only do boys learn the knowledge and appropriate behaviours for the ceremonies and rituals, but they also learn their affectual and emotional connotations. As Dawson has suggested (1969*b* : 109), forms of learning that take place under emotional, affect-laden and highly ritualized conditions generate values and attitudes which become firmly held later in life, and are highly resistant to change. Such connotations are very apparent in the religiously oriented ceremonies, but are also

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present in many of the expressive-secular ceremonies in their emphasis on *Yiddishkeit* and the religious basis for living. They are least apparent in the instrumental-secular ceremonies, but the occasions when these are held are relatively limited, and directly touch on the least number of boys. Although both secular and sacred experiences are available in the school's ceremonial life, it is clear that those related to the Great Tradition predominate.

The 'way of tradition' appears to an outside observer to be highly charged emotionally. A certain fire and intensity pervade many activities, and reach their peak in both types of religious ceremonies. During these there is a marked informality combining Jewish folk and religious components. Speeches are declaimed rather than spoken through the medium of Hebrew, Yiddish and English. Gestures are dramatic, and speeches are liberally sprinkled with references to the Bible and the Talmud. One feels that heights of fervour and euphoria can be reached as quickly and as easily as depths of anger and sorrow. One *davens* in the *shul*, with all the connotations referred to above. Worshippers have a certain swagger, even an arrogance. Exuberance characterizes those ceremonies such as *Simchas Torah* at which celebration is obligatory. Surprising informality and even casualness occur on the most solemn occasions such as the Morning Service of *Yom Kippur*, and tend to obscure its moments of deep devotion that transcends the mundane, and lifts worship to great heights of religious experience and emotional impact. The ethos of Lubavitcher School shares all these components, and provides the context in which boys tackle the difficult task of mastering the knowledge offered by both traditions.

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The Formal Organization of Knowledge

Taking a commonsense view of education, one thinks of the formal curriculum in a school as the major source of knowledge gained by pupils. They act as relatively passive recipients of ready-made information communicated by the teachers. The shortcomings of such a view are taken up in Chapter 8, in which the concept of the countervailing curriculum is developed. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I adhere to the commonsense view, and examine how knowledge relating to the two traditions is formally organized within the school.

Types of knowledge

The selection of culturally valued knowledge is part of the curriculum, which also includes other learning experiences available to pupils. Musgrave has suggested (1973 : 7) that the stock of knowledge offered by most schools can be divided into two parts. 'There is, first, academic knowledge which is largely in written form and relates to learned disciplines.' The second part is 'behavioural knowledge, which includes knowledge of the behavioural norms of the society'. Lubavitcher School represents two 'societies', and it is doubtful whether a simple dichotomy of the type Musgrave proposes adequately accounts for the stock of knowledge it communicates to the boys. A similar reservation must be held about comparable religious or denominational schools, and suggests that at least one additional category is required.

Academic knowledge seems logically related to the 'secular' function of such schools, that is, the preparation of their clientele for future occupations in society. Musgrave notes (*loc. cit.*) that 'it is preserved and largely added to by educational institutions at the tertiary level, or research institutions of a similar status'. This is a characteristic which was noted about the development of the academic tradition in Australia, and is an additional justification for equating academic know-

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ledge with the largely secular domain of the school.

There is, however, a body of knowledge that cannot be thought of as academic. This is the corpus of religious literature. Agreed, it is in written form, and is preserved. But in the case of Lubavitcher School, at least, the notion that it could be added to, let alone modified, by a tertiary institution would be heretical. It is transcendentally derived or divinely revealed knowledge, and is immutable, in contrast to the empirical derivation of the knowledge in the academic tradition. Although it plays an important part in determining the behavioural knowledge adopted by the school, the body of religious knowledge can be considered separately, from the point of view of its derivation, as *super-empirical knowledge*. It is logically related to the Great Tradition and the 'sacred' function of the school, that is, the production of Orthodox Jews.

Accordingly, three categories of knowledge are adopted for analytical purposes: academic knowledge, super-empirical knowledge, and behavioural knowledge. The last is concerned with what Berger and Luckmann refer to as 'recipe knowledge' (1971 : 56–7). This is 'pragmatically necessary knowledge', and used for 'the mastery of routine problems'. As Musgrave notes (1973 : 13), because of the situational nature of behaviour, 'educational organizations need to focus their teaching upon the values underlying the respectability they are trying to inculcate'.

Academic knowledge

The selection of knowledge offered by the secondary school through the formal curriculum is narrow and non-vocational. Enrichment, non-academic subjects such as Music, Speech, and Drama, are not offered. Even Art is only offered in the first and second forms, but is dropped thereafter.

Subjects in the lower and middle school

Similar subjects are offered to first and second forms: Hebrew (3), English (6), Mathematics (6), Science (3), Art (2), History (3), French (2), Geography (3). The figures in brackets refer to the number of 40-minute periods allocated to each subject. English and Mathematics get twice as much time as any other academic subject. Art and French get

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least time, and are not considered by the boys or staff as 'real' subjects, but rather token bits of more liberal studies. The latter owes its existence as much to the personal enthusiasm of the teacher in charge as to the official policy of the school.

The subjects available at third form are basically similar to those in the lower forms but show an increased academic bias. Art and French are dropped, their place being taken by Commercial Practice. Hebrew is now the only foreign language taken. The same number and distribution of periods are allocated to subjects as in the first and second forms.

Fourth form takes the same subjects but the amount of time allocated to some is increased in line with recommendations in the VUSEB Handbook: Hebrew (4), English (6), Mathematics (6), Science (4), Geography (4), History (4), Commercial Practice (4). This increases the demand on time by four periods so that boys work later in the afternoon and have two science periods on Sunday morning.

The senior school curricula

The organization of knowledge in the two senior forms of the school shows an even greater academic bias than in lower forms. Every endeavour is made to provide opportunities for boys to take either science or humanities groupings of subjects. Fifth form offers Hebrew, English, Mathematics 1, Mathematics 2, Physics, Chemistry, Economics, Social Studies, Geography, Modern History, Commercial Principles, Accounting. These are significantly reduced in sixth form, with a science bias quite apparent, to English Expression, Applied Mathematics, General Mathematics, Pure Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Australian History, Economics, Social Studies. All subjects in fifth form are allocated five periods, with six periods in sixth form.

The significant omission at the latter level is Hebrew. The standard attained by the boys is so high, due to constant contact with the subject in both secular and religious studies, that they are able to take the matriculation examination if desired on the basis of their work up to and including the fifth form.

The role of examinations in the curriculum

Internal examinations and tests

Examinations at all levels are the rule rather than the exception in the

school. Time is allocated at the end of each term for the first four forms to sit internally set and marked examinations or tests. Some teachers augment these results by cumulative tests during the term. Although such a system can provide teachers with opportunity to devise their own courses, the majority at the school appear to follow those suggested by the VUSEB. These also incorporate textbooks which, it is well recognized, have been written with such courses in mind. By teaching the textbook one teaches the course but innovation, creativity and experimentation are thereby inhibited.

My own attempts to move outside such constraints by devising special geography courses for the third and fourth forms were received uneasily by the boys. Compared with last year's teacher they were so different. Besides, he only required them to get one textbook whereas at fourth form I wanted the boys to have three. Why was this necessary? . . . And so on.

External examinations

Besides the examinations set within the school, in fourth form boys are eligible to sit for the since discontinued Commonwealth Secondary Scholarship Examination (CSSE). This is set and marked on an Australia-wide basis by officers of the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) on behalf of the Commonwealth Department of Education and Science. The ACER is a Melbourne-based independent organization with test development as one of its chief activities.

The examination consists of four sections or papers testing Written Expression, Comprehension and Interpretation (Sciences), Quantitative Thinking, Comprehension and Interpretation (Humanities). These papers are spread over two days in late July. The examination is highly competitive, and sets out to test academic ability and skills rather than the possession of knowledge. As the memorandum to heads of schools makes clear, the examination is intended to be a predictor of the pupil's 'likely success in matriculation studies two years hence'. Scholarships for the next two years of education are offered in terms of the order of merit in the examination. Success in obtaining a scholarship under such competitive and searching conditions thus not only earns economic rewards in terms of support for further schooling, but also gains considerable kudos for the successful pupil and his school.

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At the fifth form level all academic work is oriented towards the School Leaving Certificate examination at the end of the year in late October and early November. This is taken externally, and constitutes a terminal qualification for those leaving school. More commonly, however, it is a necessary step towards proceeding to the sixth form year and Higher School Certificate (HSC), formerly the Matriculation Examination. To enter for this a pass in at least four subjects of the School Leaving examination is required. However, most candidates prepare for five or six subjects, as English must be passed as one of the four subjects needed to enter for the Higher School Certificate examination. It must also be passed at HSC level, along with three other subjects, for the candidate to qualify for consideration for a place at university.

The School Leaving examination thus assumes a much greater importance than the kinds of examinations in fourth form. It is firstly a desirable terminal qualification for employment when a student leaves school. A candidate must obtain four subjects arranged in specified groupings before proceeding to the Higher School Certificate year, and both certificates are needed as one of the pre-requisites for university selection.[1] It presents a formidable hurdle for boys to take.

In the school, this pressure is compounded by the difficulty some boys have with English, when Yiddish or another language is spoken at home. The school also presents its candidates to the final examination externally at unfamiliar examination centres under the VUSEB Grade B system. It has not received Grade A accreditation to set and award its own internally examined Leaving Certificate. At least in the fourth form, examinations apart from the CSSE are set and marked internally by staff at the school, thus partially reducing the strain.

At the fifth form level examinations are of three types. Internally set and marked examinations take place at the end of first term. There are no formal examinations in second term, though progress tests are set. However, very early in third term, the fifth and sixth forms take the optional practice examination set by independent, external examiners under the auspices of the Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria (IARTV). This is an independent organization

1. The candidate must have passed in English, a branch of Mathematics or of Science, a humanity subject. The examination has since been discontinued.

concerned mainly with placing staff in non-government, registered (independent) schools. It maintains its own teacher training college in Melbourne, and organizes the setting and distribution of the practice School Leaving and HSC tests held in late September to early October. Although constructed and published by external examiners, these are sat for in the schools and marked by members of school staffs. Alternatively, schools can set their own examinations for the end of second term.

The main School Leaving examination papers are set by panels of examiners appointed for every subject by the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board, in collaboration with the various subject Standing Committees of the Board. The examination is taken at special centres throughout the State. These are in public halls, large schools with facilities which have been approved by the Board to act as centres, and, in the case of Melbourne, at the large Exhibition Buildings in the city itself.

Similar administrative conditions operate for the HSC examination, though for this both the preparation and supervision are much more stringent. The chairman of each examiners panel must be from a tertiary education organization, and not from a school which does not present for the external examination, as may be the case for the School Leaving. The HSC examination is used for university selection, and high merit grades may qualify for the award of a Commonwealth Tertiary Scholarship, which assists with university fees and cost of books, and provides towards maintenance of the recipient. The HSC is also a terminal qualification for the school leaver.

With such rewards at stake, competition for success in the HSC examination is intense. Pupils usually take at least four subjects—the minimum required for a pass at one sitting—while many attempt five. For university selection purposes, results in the best three are counted, excluding English expression for which grades are not awarded, the subject being marked on a pass/fail basis.[2]

In contrast to the gradually increasing severity and external character of the assessment from fourth to sixth forms, that in the middle and

2. This was the case in 1969. In 1971 the VUSEB introduced the grading system for English Expression. Note—further modifications to the external examination system have occurred since this date.

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lower school is far less rigorous. Whereas preparation for the CSSE, the School Leaving and HSC examinations imparts direction and motivation to both teaching and learning, work at the lower levels has only the incentive of being preparation for transition upwards to the next level. There are no similar rewards to compete for as in the three senior forms. However, the dominance of the higher levels over the direction of the curriculum is very apparent, and confirms its pronounced academic orientation and adherence to the academic tradition.

Super-empirical knowledge [3]

The basis of the curriculum content

Three closely related and interdependent bodies of knowledge constitute the basis of the formal curriculum of the Great Tradition. They are the Bible (*TeNaCh*), the Talmud and *Schulchan Aruch*. *TeNaCh*—a contraction of three words—comprises the *Torah* ('Instruction','Law') *Nevi'im* ('Prophets'), and *Ketuvim* ('Writings' or 'Hagiographa'). The first is made up of the first five books of the Bible (*Chumash* or Pentateuch), the second comprises the Early Prophets (*Nevi'im Rishonim*) and Later Prophets (*Nevi'im Aharonim*), the third is a collection of miscellaneous books of historical, devotional, poetic, dramatic and narrative literature. This comprises Psalms, Proverbs, and the Book of Job, together with the Five Scrolls (*Megilloth*), the most important of which is the Scroll of Esther read at *Purim*.

Torah is the foundation of religious and ethical instruction. For centuries it has furnished the principal curriculum of Jewish education in which the child begins his schooling, and returns to again and again. To the Orthodox Jew it is the supreme and unquestioned authority in religious life. Together with *Nevi'im* and *Ketuvim* it furnishes the spiritual roots of the Talmud. This embraces both the Mishnah and *Gemara*, the former being stressed in the curriculum at the school. The Mishnah can be thought of as a textbook rather than a code, and gives the essence of the Oral Law and ancient tradition as it was known to the sages during the period culminating in the compilation of the final authorized version *c.* 220 C.E. The Talmud is, in effect,

3. I am indebted to the Director of Religious Instruction at the school for the information on which this section is based, though the comments and interpretation under the sub-heading *Some comments on methods of instruction* are entirely mine.

a body of jurisprudence fulfilling the injunction of the Men of the Great Assembly to 'make a fence around the *Torah*' (*Avot* 1.1).[4] Not surprisingly every page of the Talmud is filled with citations from *Chumash*.

The *Schulchan Aruch* of Joseph Caro first published in 1565 is a convenient codification of Jewish law and practice derived from the Talmud. It is divided into four parts. *Orach Chayyim* deals with the ritual obligations of daily life from waking to sundown. *Yoreh Deah* deals mainly with dietary and ritual laws including mourning, vows, respect to parents, charity, etc. *Even ha-Ezer* deals with personal status, marriage, divorce, etc., and *Choshen Mishpat* embraces the entire body of Jewish civil law as far as it is applicable under Diaspora conditions. Subsequent writers further condensed this codification, and the *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch* is also a basis for the curriculum, especially for the boys in junior forms.

Organization of religious instruction

Boys start the Talmud (Mishnah) in Grade 5 by tradition at *Baba Metziah* (Aramaic—'The Middle Gate'), dealing with small portions of the easier tractates concerning responsibility for property, and accepting liability for damage. At this level, possibly no more hant one or two pages are considered during the entire year. Study of the Mishnah continues in greater depth, and deals with more content, as a boy proceeds up the school. He tackles sections from different tractates in higher forms, such as those dealing with marriage, divorce, prohibitions on *Shabbos*. In senior forms, for instance, modern technological developments such as having to turn on a light switch are explored in relation to the traditional prohibition of work on *Shabbos*. By sixth form, boys may be tackling some 20 pages of the Talmud during the year at much deeper levels of interpretation and sophistication. Starting at *Baba Metziah*, seven or eight tractates are dealt with in all, and the progress of the boys is geared to those tractates studied in much greater depth at the *Yeshivah Gedolah* so that the boys can receive coaching and personal help after school from the rabbinical students.

4. Men of the Great Assembly—A spiritual and legislative assembly of the post-prophetic era (*c.* 200 B.C.E.) consisting of between 85 and 120 sages.

The study of *Chumash* with commentary by Rashi starts in Grades 1 and 2 with Genesis, and proceeds systematically through the subsequent books grade by grade until all Five Books have been completed, and study begins afresh from the beginning but at greater depth. Some consideration is given to other sections of *TeNaCh*, especially *Nevi'im*, but is necessarily restricted due to lack of time. However, by the end of their schooling the boys will have covered the majority of *TeNaCh*.

Study of the *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch* in lower grades and the unabridged version in higher forms takes place mainly before each Festival. Considerable time is devoted to studying its ritual laws and ceremonial observances. However the *Schulchan Aruch* is studied on other occasions though, in comparison with *TeNaCh* and the Talmud, less time is devoted to it.

A feature of the curriculum for the secondary forms is the gradual introduction of Chassidic philosophy in conjunction with studies of *Chumash*. In Forms 1 and 2 teachers might explain Chassidic interpretations of the weekly portion of *Torah* once or twice a week. Instruction would be given orally with pupils taking notes. No formal textbook of *Chassidus* is used. However, by Form 5, pupils are able to start tackling the main philosophy in some depth, and are introduced to some parts of *Tanya* which is the basis of the Lubavitcher (*Chabad*) philosophy. Once again, lack of time limits what can be tackled.

How traditional are these elements of the curriculum? In origin they are very ancient, dating back to biblical times and the post-biblical period during which the Oral Law was gradually compiled and finally approved in its authorized form. We can gain some insight into Lubavitcher notions of what traditional Orthodox Jewish education should be from an account of the controversy between Rabbi Menachem Mendel, the 'Tzemach Tzedek' of the line of *Chabad*-Chassidic tradition, and proponents of the *Haskalah* movement during the five-year period after 1845.[5]

In reply to the Russian Bureau of Religions' unacceptable proposals for the curriculum of Hebrew schools, the Tzemach Tzedek made a

5. *Haskalah* (Heb.)—'Enlightenment'. The movement among Jews of Eastern Europe in the late 18th–19th centuries to acquire modern European culture and secular knowledge.

number of cogent *responsa* in a lengthy pamphlet. Among his many points were the following, in which we can detect the essential roots of the religious program of the school (Schneersohn 1962 : 71 ff.):

> The words of the Torah are eternal, true, and just. This must be impressed upon the minds and hearts of the pupils at the outset. (*Yoreh Deah* 245, 6: 'One is obliged to teach his son the Written Torah in its entirety . . .').
>
> Even the curriculum recently issued for Government schools for Jews explicitly states that first grade children are to study the first books of the Pentateuch and the *Mishnayos* of the Tractate *Shabbos*. In the second grade they are to complete the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Psalms, Proverbs, Esther, *Mishnayos Brochos* and the Orders of Festivals, Civil Law, and Sacrifice, Talmud Tractates *Be'a*, *Succah*, *Pesachim*, and *Shabbos*, and many sections of the *Schulchan Aruch* (as planned in 1843 by the Commission). The curriculum stipulates all the books of the Bible, Mishna, and Talmud, with no mention of omissions.

In view of the types of religious teaching staff employed at the school and particularly the developments which have taken place since my study, the organization of most Chassidic communities under the Tzemach Tzedek's direction is also of interest. Their religious staff consisted of

> Rabbis, *shochtim*, teachers (who were also charged by the Rabbi with organizing public study group for Mishna, Talmud, *halacha*, *agada*, and Chassidus), and a *mashpi'ya*. The *mashpi'ya* was a Chassid chosen by the Rabbi to be responsible for Chassidic training, especially of young men and boys (*ibid.*: 60).[6]

Some comments on methods of instruction

Several features differentiate the formal curriculum of the Great Tradition from that of the academic tradition. Firstly, a hierarchical arrangement of subjects grade by grade is absent. Progress in the study of *Chumash*, the Mishnah and *Schulchan Aruch* is highly individualistic, and depends on the capabilities of the students and interests of the teachers. Thus it is not possible to specify exactly what is studied grade by grade. There is a close parallel with Eastern European tradition. 'The general principle of the yeshiva is independence and self-reliance. The program of study allows for infinite variation' (Zborowski &

6. The Director of Religious Studies at Lubavitcher School would be the equivalent of the *mashpi'ya*.

Herzog, 1952 : 97–98). Secondly, tradition has had to defer to the demands of secular work and the inroads this makes into pupils' time, energy, and capacity for sustained Jewish studies. For instance, it used to be customary in the traditional *cheder* or elementary school for the study of *Chumash* to commence at Leviticus. This is now skipped and left for older classes, while the younger boys start with Genesis. However, even this is not an invariable procedure and depends on the ability of pupils and the teacher's preferences.

Thirdly, several important pedagogical techniques are employed for all studies. Particularly in higher forms, boys work individually at the Talmud in small groups which rarely exceed four. They also work at their own pace. It is also clear that a form of 'spiral curriculum' operates. A boy may tackle a part of *Chumash* in a junior grade, progress to other parts as he proceeds through the school, but in senior forms return to the part he first studied but tackle it at greater depth and rigour. This applies particularly to *Chumash*. In the Talmud, on the other hand, though some spiral tendency is apparent, study is a matter of progressing from topic to topic (tractate to tractate) of increasing depth and complexity. Fourthly, a great deal of the curriculum emphasizes the acquisition of knowledge (the cognitive domain) and certain skills such as those necessary to sustain a discussion on a passage from the Talmud in higher forms.

Behavioural knowledge

Behavioural norms and values of the Great Tradition

Solomon's description of traditional Jewish education (1973 : 174) indicates clearly how closely the school has modelled its program of religious instruction on traditional practice. It is also the source of the 'ideal' behavioural norms and values that the boys should follow.

> The traditional curriculum of Jewish studies was textbook- and subject-centred, divided into stages based on the study of the Pentateuch, the Mishna, and the Talmud. Whereas intellectual knowledge was the basis of the curriculum, the goals of education included both cognitive and affective objectives, meaning knowledge, behaviour, the acquisition of values, and the training of character.

The assumption is made at the school that learning knowledge of *Torah* will lead to the adoption of the correct behaviours set out

therein as the 613 Precepts (Heb. *taryag mitzvot*), or commandments of the Law of Moses. These are subdivided into 248 positive and 365 negative precepts. The concept of *Torah* connotes 'guidance' and 'direction', and implies that knowledge of *Torah* provides an individual with a program of norms and values to guide both his most private actions and his relationships with the community. Chassidism is, in essence, an ethical and aesthetic interpretation of the divine ideals embodied in the 613 Precepts of Judaism. The elements of Lubavitcher philosophy, to which the boys are exposed, thus have the effect of reinforcing the values and norms learned in their more formal studies of *Torah*.

As was clear in Chapter 1, the dominant theme of behavioural knowledge, insofar as it refers to interpersonal relationships, is the concept of *imitatio Dei*. This is developed in the rabbinical injunction: 'As He is merciful and gracious, so be you merciful and gracious. As He is righteous so be you righteous. As He is holy, strive to be holy' (*Sifre* Deut. 85a). However, it is not prescriptive in the sense of compelling a person to ethical behaviour without offering him freedom of choice. It is a basic affirmation of Judaism that man is a creature who makes free ethical choices and decisions for which he alone is responsible. A boy at Lubavitcher School may have the Precepts held up before him as models of behaviour: it is up to him whether to make them part of his 'recipe knowledge', and the basis of forming the typifications of others, which guide his interpersonal relationships.

Behavioural knowledge gained from studying divine Precepts is reinforced by knowledge derived from a variety of animate and inanimate sources in the school. These range from homiletic injunctions given at the various types of ceremonies described in the previous chapter, through comments of lay and religious teaching staff during periods of religious instruction, to precepts contained in literature from the Lubavitcher Rebbe, which is pinned to notice boards and doors in the *shul* and its adjoining rooms. The last commonly refer to the performance of *mitzvot* for an approaching Festival. For instance, during *Purim*, members of the congregation are urged to perform the 'unity *mitzvot*' of sending gifts to friends (Heb. *mishloach manot*)—usually two kinds of sweetmeats—and to the poor, in the form of food or money (Heb. *mattanot la-evyonim*). The *mitzvah* of charity is also stressed in the

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school, and a monitor comes around each class once a week to collect contributions from boys.

Homiletic injunctions in publications about the school stress a number of themes, which relate to the value of *Yiddishkeit*. This is made even more explicit by the distinction, which speakers or writers make between 'general education knowledge' and Jewish knowledge. The former has only one purpose, namely to acquire skill, but not to acquire character. The latter 'shows us how to live properly in Jewish life'. The objective of the school is to develop *Yiddishkeit*: teaching an aim and direction in life, through Jewish morals and ethics which kindle children's minds. In this way it is hoped that the school will turn out knowledgeable and responsible Jews. Through the high standards of *Yiddishkeit* at the school the boys gain a deep awareness of their religion. The school is a 'banner of *Yiddishkeit*': its intense Yiddish atmosphere is bolstered by harmony between teachers and pupils. The study of *Torah* and Jewish education has always been an ideal of the Jewish people. It is necessary for moral living: no one can be pious without knowledge.

Yiddishkeit is also taught through the regular extra-curricular activities some boys follow with the Lubavitcher Youth group. This conducts a variety of camps and outings during some Festivals and the long summer vacation when the school closes. Members of the Lubavitcher Youth group are also examples to others in the earnest way they carry out their religious duties, or help organize activities. Many members have a bustling, 'busy' manner, as if they are self-consciously aware of a 'mission' to perform. The Lubavitcher Youth group also conducts study groups and its own services in the *shul*. The Lubavitcher 'message' is further disseminated by the amount of literature, in the form of leaflets, pamphlets and books, published by the Melbourne Branch of the parent company *Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch*, Inc. of Brooklyn, New York, which is the official arm of the Lubavitcher Movement. Extracts from these publications, together with Yiddish jokes and rabbinical aphorisms even find their way into the 'newspapers', which the middle school form produces and duplicates. Lubavitcher Youth also conducts a duplicating service for those who want to obtain extracts from Lubavitcher literature, or copies of other material.

Folk or Jewish ethnic customs are also an important component of

Yiddishkeit. 'The term has a warm ring for the *Ashkenazi* Jew, denoting the positive aspects of Jewish habits, often of folk origin' (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965 : 410). Most of the congregation associated with the school originated from Eastern Europe, and their customs feature during Festivals such as *Purim*, *Simchas Torah* and *Chanukah*. Some date back to medieval times and earlier. Masquerades, fancy dress, and a carnival atmosphere with games (Yidd. *Purim spiel*) occupy boys' attention during *Purim*. Spinning the top (Yidd. *dreidl*) becomes a playground game when *Chanukah* occurs. The Festival of *Lag Ba-Omer*, which occurs between *Pesach* and *Shavuot*, is the occasion for outdoor field games and activities in the parks close to the school. The limited extra-curricular activities include a school choir, which is formed in the months prior to Speech Night, and has a repertoire of Israeli and Jewish folk songs. These are a feature of the relatively rare school assemblies in the dining hall.

Cultic-ceremonial knowledge

A further type of behavioural knowledge relating to the Great Tradition is cultic-ceremonial knowledge concerning the meaning and correct performance of the rituals and *mitzvot*. It is explicitly taught in religious studies through studying *Torah*, the Talmud, and *Schulchan Aruch*. When each Festival approaches, some attention is given in class to rehearsing the meaning of its associated rituals, even to the extent of demonstrating the use of the cultic-ceremonial objects involved. Thus, at *Rosh Hashanah* the use of the *shophar* or ram's horn is shown. At *Succos*, the *lulav* and *esrog* feature in lessons. Boys are able to handle these objects, and practise the correct methods of using them.

In addition to these explicit, didactic teaching methods, the school complex as a whole is a source of countless instances of cultic-ceremonial knowledge being learned from the example of others. Ritual behaviour is involved in the frequent ablutions or washing of the hands before meals and prayers. The boys in primary grades are taken to wash-troughs as a matter of course, and their ablutions are supervised by the teacher. The school secretary tries to ensure that boys wash their hands in the dining hall during lunchtime. The saying of the Blessing and Grace is similarly prescribed.

Cultic-ceremonial knowledge is also learned during the regular

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communal and individual prayers: the correct handling of the *tephillin* and *tallit*; the ritual genuflexions and movements; the melodic inflexion or *niggun* with which prayers are recited. The Readings of the Law at the Morning Services are opportunities for regular public rehearsal of Judaic norms and values. In addition, many boys perform the *mitzvot* of the *mezuzah* and wearing the *tzitzit* beneath their shirts. They also observe the *kashruth* prohibitions, which are strictly adhered to in the school. The wearing of a cap or *yarmelkeh* at all times is strictly insisted upon by the school. Each boy is thus a source of visible, symbolic reinforcement of the cultic-ceremonial knowledge for his peers.

Some cultic-ceremonial knowledge is visually set out in display material from the Lubavitcher Movement, which periodically conducts campaigns to teach the correct performance of the *mitzvah* of the *mezuzah*, or of the *tephillin*. Literature giving highly detailed instructions is displayed on classroom notice boards, often with an accompanying diagram as is the case with the sheet showing the correct method of wearing the *tephillin*. The instructions provide an example of the meticulous regard for detailed and exact performance of the *mitzvah* according to the letter of the Law, which is a feature of Lubavitcher Orthodoxy. They are also noteworthy for the injunction laid upon 'every conscientious Jew' to be an active agent in teaching the behavioural knowledge of the *tephillin* to his friends. In this case example is wedded to precept.

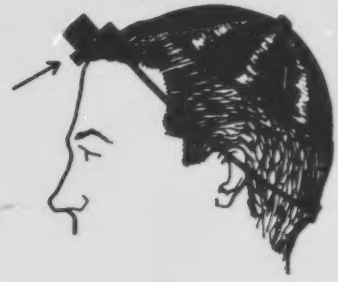
> The correct position for the laying of the Tephilin of the head is not further forward than the hairline, above the forehead (*Shulchan Aruch*, ch. 27 : 9). Many people err in this prohibition, in the mistaken belief that the upper edge of the Tephilin should be situated only as far back as the hairline. Since the Tephilin are thus placed on the forehead, such people unwittingly transgress Torah-prohibitions; for the entire Tephilin should be situated in such a place which could become bald, that is, with the front edge not further forward than the hairline (*Paragraph 10 of Commentary of Taz on Shulchan Aruch, ch. 27 : 9*). Every conscientious Jew should therefore warn his friends and inform them in order that they should not err, since, furthermore, the blessing too would be said in vain, as the laying of Tephilin not in their correct position is of no more avail than if they had remained in their bag (*Mishnah Berurah*). Accordingly, the Tephilin strap should be secured tautly around the head.

The ceremonial laws or practical observances (Heb. *mitzvot maasiyot*)

בס"ד

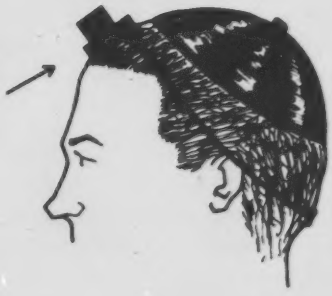
הנחת תפיליז

לא יצא



INCORRECT נישט ריכטיג

יצא



CORRECT ריכטיג

Figure 2. Instructions for putting on the Tephilin of the head

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basic to cultic-ceremonial knowledge are tangible reminders to each boy that he is an Orthodox Jew, and should behave as such. They are complementary to knowledge of the behavioural norms and values:

> The emphasis upon the importance and validity of ceremonial laws as outward symbols and rituals which in their totality combine to create a specific way of life expressing itself in action is a chief characteristic of traditional Judaism, imposing a discipline whereby fealty to God is expressed by a series of actions apart from any specific theological beliefs or moral code (Werblowsky & Wigoder, 1965 : 83).

Behavioural norms and values of the academic tradition

Fundamental to the academic tradition, as we have seen, is the concept of educating the 'whole man': the building of moral character and the production of leadership qualities through prefect and house systems. Aesthetic qualities are learned through such non-academic subjects as Drama, Art, and Music. Other norms and values commonly associated with the academic tradition involve such vague ideas as 'playing the game', 'good sportsmanship', 'clean living' and the like, which are all held to contribute to the concept of the whole man.

The school follows the academic tradition to the letter by having a prefect and house system. The senior master had introduced the former some years prior to my research in a bid to improve the status and image of the school in the eyes of the Jewish community by giving it something of a 'public school' character. The latter had been formed also some years earlier, by a non-Jewish master who had had experience of a house system in his previous independent school. Both were thus 'imported' traditions.

The prefect system is made up of five prefects from the sixth form and five probationer prefects from the fifth form. There is no written or definitive body of rules to guide the duties of these officials, but only a vague notion of 'what everybody knows' prefects do in public schools. However, prefects were given power to act on their own initiative to keep boys in order, maintain the tone of the school, and generally assist staff in supervisory duties at school functions.

Despite this backing, the prefect system failed to function properly. The probationary prefects had a few definite tasks to perform, such as checking empty classrooms during the lunchtime, but they amounted to little of real substance. In consequence the system languished. The

boys regarded it as a bit of a joke, and even the prefects themselves were sceptical of their usefulness. The system was abandoned in the year following my research and all members of the sixth form were re-constituted into a Students Council, in which each member had some definite role.

The house system originally constituted two houses, Zion and Jerusalem, which operated purely as a vehicle for arranging sports and games competitions within the school. House points are awarded towards the champion house, which is traditionally announced at the end of the year on Speech Night. When the system started, all boys belonged to one or the other house, but so much apathy developed during the year, that the grade level up to which boys participated in house activities was progressively reduced. This was done on the assumption that boys in the senior part of the school were finding it difficult to participate in house activities due to pressure from academic work. At the time of this study, the house system was confined to boys in Forms 1 and 2, together with the grades of the primary school. It was thought that these levels would retain enthusiasm for their houses, and work hard competitively to amass house points through competing in sports and games. However, even at these levels the system flourished spasmodically, and interest dwindled during the year.

The school also follows the academic tradition in having status positions with some nominal authority at the form level. These mirror those that are traditionally available in the school as a whole along the lines of the independent school system. In this there is the status of school captain or senior prefect, who leads a body of prefects with certain traditionally or explicitly defined powers over the rest of the student body. As well as the school captain or senior prefect, there is often a vice-school captain or joint senior prefect to share in and assist with the responsibility.

In each of the school's four middle school and senior school forms there is provision for the election of a form captain and vice-form captain. Such elections take place by tradition rather than an explicit school rule at the beginning of each term. The voting methods vary, but usually some type of preferential voting is used to give an air of pseudo-democracy to proceedings. During the year in Form 4, the captaincy was held by two boys, elected by a preferential voting system

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in which boys were asked to nominate three choices in order of preference. The ballot was secret.

Voting was not conducted very seriously by the boys, and a great deal of joking took place, with pointed remarks to the effect that they would elect someone '*they* could run'. One boy in particular, who turned out to be the ultimate choice, came in for many comments of this nature. They would elect him they said, because he wouldn't be able to keep control. A feature of voting was the very large number of candidates proposed—over three quarters of the class—and the closeness of the final decision. In Form 5 the election of the captain also seemed to give the other boys a great deal of amusement. As one of them, a known bully and standover persecutor, said to me sneeringly half in earnest, half in joke: 'We elected him because he'll do as we tell him, otherwise he'll get a bashing'.

The results of both leadership systems were disappointing. The boys chosen for positions of responsibility did not shine conspicuously as leaders, which caused several members of staff to comment at staff meetings that generally the prefects and probationers were a weak lot. There was little to indicate that their peers learned much about leadership qualities from their example.

Aesthetic pursuits are almost completely absent. No music is taught. Drama is not a permanent feature of the curriculum, although a small group was intensively coached towards the end of the year in preparation for Speech Night. Art is limited to junior forms. By third form it is dropped. There are no clubs run on an after-school basis to encourage boys to take an interest in creative pursuits.

Sport occupies an anomalous position in the school, which reflects the low value placed upon it in the Great Tradition. Part of the lack of interest must be attributed to the poor handling of sport by two part-time masters, who were replaced in the middle of the year by the full-time sports master. This produced some revival of interest and greatly improved standards of teaching and supervision especially for the more enthusiastic junior forms.

However, the arrangement of the campus and facilities affects the participation of the boys. Restrictions of space and equipment curtail what can be done. A variety of elementary gymnastics mainly using tumbling mats or 'Swedish drill', cricket, basketball and volleyball are

the main activities. Boys are also taken to the nearby Jewish sports centre for swimming during the summer, and a nearby park on occasions. Informal sporting activities by the boys also include some Australian Rules football in winter, though usually only the ubiquitous high kicking from one end of the playground to the other that can be seen in most schools during the football season. Soccer is also played intermittently.

A marked difference between the school and many others is the absence of the intense inter-house competitions and inter-school matches, that are a feature of the independent school scene. The school plays infrequent soccer and cricket matches against another Jewish school. The seniors also formed a school soccer team, which played and beat a team from a leading independent school on its own ground. This was an exceptional event, which resulted in a jubilant group of boys arriving back at school whooping and cheering late in the afternoon.

However, no official reference was ever made to the victory, as would have been customary in many another school. In general, sport is not taken seriously nor thought to be an important part of the curriculum. As boys get older it loses a great deal of attraction. In view of other demands on their time, and irregularities in their study periods, senior boys do not have compulsory sport or a set time for physical education. The sports master tried to arrange opportunities for boys in Forms 5 and 6 to have some sport, but, apart from a few enthusiasts, attendance fell away, especially towards the end of the year and approaching examinations.

Less formal sources of behavioural knowledge are members of the secular teaching staff. During lessons and at other times when they are supervising boys, teachers place most emphasis on procedural values: punctuality, orderliness, tidiness, quiet behaviour, respect and good manners, and similar *desiderata* to ensure effective teaching and learning. There is very little, if any, concern for encouraging 'pastoral' behavioural values, as these are the province of the rabbis.

The eidos of Lubavitcher School

The organization of knowledge in the school makes itself obvious in an all-pervasive atmosphere of learning which can be seen in what

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Bateson (1958 : 118) has termed the 'eidos' of a social group. This is the 'standardization of the cognitive aspects of the personality of the individuals' whom the group comprises. Evidence for it can be seen on all sides, and is one of the several abiding impressions that the observer gets over a protracted period. Learning is obviously valued, as in most other schools, but the style of learning encouraged in Lubavitcher School makes it quite unique on the Australian educational scene.

The outstanding aspect of the eidos of the school is the way the social organization of two traditions stimulates boys, rabbinical students, and rabbis to an intense form of intellectual activity. Great emphasis is placed on accumulating purely cognitive information, feats of memory, rote learning, and the ability to reason and argue dialectically in the pilpulistic tradition, drawing upon stocks of biblical, Talmudic, and to a lesser extent, secular academic knowledge. Examples of boys reciting long passages of Scripture or the Talmud from memory are not uncommon.

The method of dialectical argument and reasoning derives from Eastern European rabbinical scholarship, and illustrates the influence of tradition in the eidos of the school. However, it can lead to extremes of casuistic hair-splitting, which are condemned by the rabbis, but often occur in secular lessons. On such occasions one can be entrapped in virtually endless argument. Each of one's points is met by a counter argument, often prefaced by 'yes but'. The pilpulistic approach is most developed in the *Yeshivah Gedolah* and, as the Torah Evening demonstrates, is still appreciated by members of the congregation. Their close involvement accords with traditional practice.

Debating style is forceful, noisy and often disorderly. As many as possible want to put their points as quickly as possible. Verbal 'attack' is emphasized by the kinesthetic technique of 'holding' a debating point between the finger and thumb, and proffering it to the listener. Other points are emphasized by a downward jab of the finger, or an upward motion of the clenched fist. If a book comes into the argument, a page will be opened dramatically, and thrust under one's nose.

Learning is also highly physical. In strict rabbinical tradition, learning new knowledge is achieved by vocalizing aloud.

> A person should take care to pronounce with his lips and make audible to

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> his ears, whatever he studies, and he should concentrate his mind upon it, for it is written (Joshua 1 : 8): 'This Torah shall not depart from thy mouth, and thou shalt meditate upon it,' etc (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 27 : 5).

The strong kinesthetic component in learning is evident in the ubiquitous body swaying that accompanies reading, whether aloud or silently. Even if a person reads silently, his lips move, and he sways in time with the rhythm of the words.

The similarity to the Eastern European tradition of learning in the *yeshivah* and the *shtetl* is striking (Zborowski & Herzog, 1952 : 92–93).

> Swaying as one reads, and chanting the words in a fixed melody, *nign*, are considered necessary for successful study ... The swaying and the chanting become automatic. Later, the students will acquire also the appropriate gestures with the index finger and the thumb, sweeping the thumb through an upward arc of inquiry and nailing down the point of the answer with a thrust of the index finger. Study is not passive but active, involving constant motor and vocal activity.

Erudition and biblical, Talmudic scholarship are revered. The Principal introduced the *shochet* to me as 'a scribe *and* a scholar', with an inflexion on the 'and' which clearly indicated the esteem in which he is held in the community. During the year one of the fourth form boys won second prize in a local biblical knowledge competition organized by *B'nai B'rith*, thereby gaining the chance of competing in the national finals.[7] This was an event of some note, and brought credit both on the boy and the school. The Principal made a special point of visiting the classroom and publicly announcing the honour to the rest of the boys. They were visibly impressed, despite the inevitable 'ribbing' they handed out to the young scholar after the Principal had left the room. For weeks thereafter the boy was the focus of both spoken and non-verbalized admiration from his peers. His knowledge of *Torah* almost became proverbial. It was noted above that similar esteem is given to the specially selected class of primary school children whose knowledge of the Talmud was also discussed respectfully by far older boys.

7. *B'nai B'rith* is an Independent Order founded in 1843 with the object of uniting Jews for social, cultural and philanthropic purposes.

A clear distinction is made between knowledge that is uncertain, and knowledge that is eternal truth, in the ideology of the Lubavitcher Movement. The following emphasizes the distinction and the logic behind it:

THE ABSOLUTE TRUTH

Sedra Nitzovim-Vayeilech

> . . . In the 19th Century it was the prevailing view of scientists that human reason was infallible in scientific deductions, and sciences like physics, chemistry and mathematics were absolute truths—not merely tested theories, but absolute facts.
>
> A new idolatry arose, not of wood and stone, but the worship of science. In the 20th Century, however, and especially in recent decades, the whole complexion of science has changed.
>
> The assumed immutability of the scientific laws, the concept of absolutism in science generally, have been modified.
>
> The contrary view, known as the 'principle of indeterminism' is now accepted. Nothing is *certain* any more in science, only *relative* or *probable*. Scientific findings are now presented with considerable reservation, with limited and temporary validity, in the expectation that they are likely to be replaced any day by a more advanced theory.
>
> Living as we do in this climate of scientific uncertainty there is no reason to attempt to reconcile the uncertainties of scientific findings (which science itself declares as only 'probable') with the eternal truth of the Torah which cannot be diluted or compromised.[8]

The distinction can be made that although the culture of the school emphasizes knowledge, it places greater stress on the knowledge of the Great Tradition, the *Torah*-true knowledge, than that of the academic tradition, despite the necessity to learn the latter for success in the examinations and for the economic benefits that flow therefrom. Academic knowledge is pragmatically necessary as a means to an end. *Torah* knowledge is the end in itself. As will be apparent in Chapter 8, the contrast is often brought out in lessons, particularly by the Lubavitcher students but also by others, when two interpretations of natural phenomena are in confrontation.

Knowledge and intellectual activity are controlled and stimulated

8. An adaptation by Y. M. Kagan of excerpts of a letter to an individual from the Lubavitcher Rebbe. In 'Thought for the Week', *The Australian Jewish News*, Melbourne, 5 September 1969, p. 11.

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by specialists in both traditions, but *Torah* knowledge is in the keeping of those who also have most to do with the ceremonial life of the school complex, i.e. the rabbis and rabbinical students. They are thus reinforced by the impact of high-affect ceremonial occasions, which are lacking in the academic tradition at the school. At infrequent school gatherings it is their voices that are heard, drawing on the stores of biblical and Talmudic knowledge for the apt quotation or aphorism to point the moral of proceedings. The culture of the school is to a very large extent in the hands of custodians trained in erudite, dialectical skills, who constantly set out its basic ideas for the instruction of the majority. These custodians are the literati.

The intellectual hub of the school is the *Yeshivah Gedolah* in the *bet midrash* located just off the *shul*. Its atmosphere of almost supercharged learning is a striking example of the dynamics pervading the eidos of the school. The room is dimly lit, lined with books, and furnished with large tables and a few reading stands cluttered with large tomes of Talmud. Students study individually rocking backwards and forwards in their seats, with lips moving in the accepted rote learning style. Others argue passionately in small groups, emphasizing their points with sharp, pointed fingers or by an emphatic slap of the hand on the table. One student, bearded, coatless, wearing a *yarmelkeh*, and with *tzitzit* swinging at his waist, reads aloud in Hebrew from a large folio on the stand with a vigorous intensity amounting to passion. He punctuates each phrase with an emphatic forward sway and stamp of the foot, as if pounding the information into his mind with a rhythm that matches the cadence of what he is reading.

All these activities go on simultaneously in what appears to be bedlam to the external observer, but amid it all a white-bearded rabbi strolls unconcernedly from group to group, elucidating a point here, discussing a question there. He smokes a cigarette most of the time, and is obviously quite at home and relaxed in the highly charged atmosphere, despite the burning intensity of his students. This is the accepted, traditional style of Talmudic study. The whole scene is almost medieval, and immediately brings to mind what one has read of the great *yeshivot* of Eastern Europe. As Steinberg has commented (1959 : 101): 'As an institution of learning, the Yeshivah was a masterpiece of disorganization'.

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The boys in Lubavitcher School thus act out their daily school lives in a type of intellectual hothouse. The social organization of the two traditions provides in knowledge and other experiences the raw material from which the boys can construct satisfying views of themselves and their life-worlds. At the same time, however, they are narrowly constrained in what they can do by the emphasis those in the school place on using a traditional mode of learning. Their attempts to 'master and manipulate' these aspects of their cultural heritage are discussed in Part 3.

Part 3
The Millstones of Tradition

The millstones of the gods grind slow, but they grind exceeding sure.

7
Patterns of Social Interaction

One of the abiding impressions gained by a casual visitor to the school is the unusual quality of boys' behaviours in the varied situations which make up a typical educational day. He would need to spend several weeks in detailed observation to appreciate that the way the social organization of tradition has been achieved in Lubavitcher School is at the root of all the paradoxes he encounters. The school has a distinctive 'climate' or 'feel'. These have become unfashionable terms to describe what any experienced teacher knows intuitively about any school after several weeks' acquaintance with its activities, but are still apt in this case. This and succeeding chapters explore how boys react to the message in the two traditions which are presented to them daily.

At the behavioural level, it seems clear that the social organization of tradition at Lubavitcher School results in boys' adopting a variety of behaviours, which can be shown to be direct outcomes of the situations in which they find themselves. These are interpreted in two basic ways, which then govern the character of their respective interpersonal interactions with peers and staff. They seem to be governed firstly by the roles boys and those they interact with have to *take* by virtue of being part of the school, its norms, beliefs, and other cultural aspects. Secondly, they are the result of boys *making* roles for themselves by interpreting the dynamics of the situation, and identifying the roles of other participants. Role-taking and role-making, of the kinds suggested by Turner (1962 : 22–23), interact constantly to produce the characteristic climate or feel of the school. They also help an observer to assess how boys construct their life-worlds in response to the pressures of the millstones of tradition.

Interpersonal relations with secular teaching staff

Personal exchanges between boys and teaching staff show a marked contrast according to the situations in which they occur. Although

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there is some overlap, it is convenient to divide these into informal (non-teaching) situations and formal (teaching-learning) situations.

Informal situations

Exchanges in the former are usually, though not invariably, characterized by friendliness, curiosity, and eagerness to ask both personal and impersonal questions on the part of the boys. Their willingness to strike up a conversation on every and any topic is not lessened by the difference in status between them and the adult who is engaged in conversation. A confident, man-to-man manner is adopted. Although a deferential title such as 'sir' may be used, it seems apparent that many boys regard themselves as close to, if not actually on, an equal footing with an adult. Even some first-formers display this attitude. The intimate style of verbal exchanges is reinforced by other means of communication: gesticulations, close proximity and small spatial distance, which occasionally reaches actual bodily contact. Touches on the arm are employed to gain and hold attention.

The range of boys' interests is wide, and discussion takes in politics as a matter of course. The latest happenings in Israel are discussed avidly, and boys use such topics to test out where teachers' sympathies lie. Zionism is taken very seriously in the school. There is also an efficient grapevine which ensures that the latest scandal or happening quickly becomes known to all, providing material for more discussion. This differs in intensity according to the topic.

When an exciting occurrence such as an accident is the subject of the discussion, it can take on an air of quiet hysteria. Details are hotly discussed, magnified and almost shouted at one in the excitement. Verbal exchanges are accompanied by vigorous gesticulation. Gross body-displacement actions such as swaying, shoulder and head tics, rocking onto alternate feet, all convey a high degree of tension.

The style of 'normal' interpersonal exchanges may owe more to the general influence of Jewish ethnic behavioural style rather than the Great Tradition. It may also result from the fact that from quite an early age boys accompany their fathers to the *shul*, where they note, and can take part in the discussions and gossip that are a feature of its behavioural style. As soon as he is *barmitzvah* the boy is technically an adult, and entitled to full status in religious matters, even though

chronologically he is still an adolescent. Should the boy be scholarly and well-versed in the Talmud, he will traditionally be accorded respect and a hearing in religious matters. The obvious esteem in which the young scholar from Sydney was held at the *Torah* Evening described above is a classical example of the deference paid to those highly gifted, at whatever age. As a result of such cultural influences, boys may develop precocious ability to relate to adults, which takes little account of their 'status', but is based more on personal qualities such as knowledge, scholarship, and the ability to impart it. These may well be the norms on which boys, in this school at least, base interpersonal exchanges. In their own culture boys are thus relaxed and secure. For instance, friendly almost indulgent help was given to me on the several occasions when I took part in ceremonies in the *shul*, and lost my way in the prayer book, or could not understand the ritual.

Formal situations

The character of interpersonal exchanges in the formal learning situation of the classroom is less easy to assess. Most classroom behaviour takes place behind closed doors in settings where the teacher is his or her own arbiter of the norms that will prevail. Discussion is accordingly confined to my own experience in a variety of classrooms, or to those few interpersonal exchanges between others that could be witnessed unobtrusively. Independent comments from colleagues support these observations.

Boys clearly see classroom exchanges as opportunities for manipulating the teacher to their own advantage wherever possible. They claim to assess teachers or 'work them out' very quickly, and from then on try to control a lot of what occurs. According to a parent of one of the boys in my form, even after a fortnight they had not yet 'worked out' what I was really up to. Usually, he said, they had a new teacher 'worked out' in a matter of days, but apparently I had them baffled.

The conviction that they control things is occasionally mentioned by boys. After a period when my own form, which was usually fairly well-behaved, had been fractious, I issued a general warning that I would not tolerate further misbehaviour. One boy piped up cockily: 'We only behave if we want to. We could easily get rid of you if we wanted to—we only have to tell the rabbi . . .' What about was not

specified, but the inference was clear: I would be labelled an anti-Semite and asked to leave the school, which had been the fate of my predecessor. This is the ultimate sanction the boys can use against the non-Jewish teacher, and they make no bones about it. The sixth form started a deliberate campaign against one staff member, who had long experience in independent schools, and possessed an innately good-natured and friendly manner. The boys openly boasted that they would force him to leave the school. One went further. Mr ———— was an obvious anti-Semite and a racist he stated. He (the student) would get him out of the school on these (albeit spurious) grounds.

The boys respect knowledge and authoritarian pedagogy to an extent that makes them suspicious and intolerant of more pupil-centred learning methods. Parents and the Principal share the boys' attitudes. Assignments using printed instruction sheets, or attempts to organize discussions using boys' choice of topics, seem to arouse insecurity and produce bad behaviour. A 'good' class is one where traditional chalk-and-talk lessons are being conducted, or pupils are engaged on book work in silence. Anything radically different is construed as 'bad' teaching, and might even attact the attention of the Principal during his regular peregrinations around the school. He would poke his head in the door to see if all was well, even though industrious, pupil-oriented activity was in progress. It often seemed better to keep teaching in the traditional style: this was 'real' teaching and caused no worry.

Radical departures from such a teaching style could generate behavioural problems among boys. On one occasion I had to deputize for the senior English master, and attempted to lead an impromptu discussion with the fourth form. The attempt broke down into silliness and complete disruption. The boys seemed unable or unwilling to choose a topic, and the lesson became a competition to see how far they could go before I stopped them. Some dozen topics were suggested, and the boys would have gone on to put forward more if I had not stopped them. It was clear virtually from the outset that they had no serious intention of agreeing on a topic and conducting a sensible discussion. The lesson was turned into a contest, in which I was being manipulated.

The boys' reactions must be interpreted with some caution. The same

break-down into silly behaviour could have occurred in any class more used to authoritarian teaching, and suddenly confronted with a democratic approach. I had encountered similar reactions in other schools when deputizing for a teacher. However, the contest would rarely be pushed to the same length. Many boys would be apathetic, and the task of discussing one of two or three suggested topics would be left to the keenest. In the Jewish school however, there was obviously no intention of agreeing on anything. Yet many of the topics the boys did suggest were educationally worthwhile. They reflected an interest in world affairs, which was relatively greater than I had experienced among boys in comparable state high or independent boys schools. This was all the more marked as they did not take Social Studies. In the Leaving social studies course all such topics are included.

Some suggestions were quite comparable to what would be proposed in a non-Jewish school—matters relating to sport, teachers' right to strike—while others reflected cultural specificity. In this category came haircuts and beards. The latter became a small issue during the year among some of the sixth-formers, who began to grow the beginnings of beards in strict accordance with the prescriptions of *Halachah* against shaving the 'corners' of the beard, despite the Principal's disapproval (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 4 : 170, Lev. 19 : 27).

An interesting omission was any reference to sex, boy-girl dating, T.V. programs and the like, which would have cropped up very quickly in a list of non-Jewish suggestions, even if only as a try-on. As the Principal had earlier informed me, the former are the province of the rabbis, being treated explicitly and in detail with senior boys during lessons based on the *Schulchan Aruch*. Their omission could reflect the fact that sex and boy-girl relationships are non-issues through being covered in such a thorough and explicit manner during religious lessons.

The fourth form experience had arisen due to my substituting for another teacher. Such occurrences can generate intra-class tensions and silly behaviour in any school, as pupils' role expectations of the substitute teacher can often differ from those they normally hold of their regular teacher. In a subject which is supposedly unfamiliar to him, the substitute becomes fair game. His lack of knowledge and expertise can be tested out and exploited. Obvious differences in teaching style

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can be interpreted as weakness, with consequent misbehaviour and lack of co-operation.

In the discussion I attempted to create, all of these factors could have operated to exacerbate the silliness and distort the pattern of behaviour that might usually occur with the regular teacher. I was very much part of the dynamics of the class at the time. The boys quickly spotted that I was not going to use an authoritarian approach, and probably sensed that I had an ulterior motive for not clamping down on them. In effect they played up for my benefit and fed on the behaviour I injected into the *gestalt*.

Negotiating and bargaining with the teacher are at their strongest when examination results are involved. The post-examination period becomes tense and suspicious until full satisfaction in terms of marks gained is achieved. When examination papers are returned, boys rush feverishly to one another, and compare marks, subjecting each question to meticulous scrutiny. Ultimately the majority come agitatedly out to the table to ask why they have not been awarded half a mark like so-and-so. As the following example indicates, arguments can be lengthy, subtle, and often backed by recourse to written authority, in much the same style as discussions and arguments are conducted in religious classes.

'You haven't given me anything for saying semi-tropical forests are in the Canterbury Plain.'

'I know. They do not occur in the Plain.'

'Yes? But look here (pointing to a text book), it says they are found in part of the *North* Island of New Zealand.'

'That's right, but not in the South Island.'

'Not the South Island?'

'No (emphatically), not the South Island.'

'Ah! But you gave L———— half a mark for saying that semi-tropical forests are found in New Zealand.'

'Did I?'

'Yes, and I have put Canterbury Plains, *New Zealand* (pointing triumphantly). That deserves half a mark too.'

One gives up the battle here and awards the half mark. Honour has been maintained and apparent justice gained.

The incident is typical of many involving examination papers. After

my first experience of the intensity of bargaining for the extra mark—far greater than in any of my previous schools—I adopted the practice of marking the school's papers at least twice, even three times. This still did not prevent some trivial points being missed, but did reduce the number of battles I had to face. They are conducted ruthlessly, with pressure being implacably applied at every step. Manners are forgotten in the heat of the argument, and no point is left unexamined. Even usually polite and quiet boys can become worked up and impassioned about marks.

This attitude is not only confined to the results of examinations held at the school. The external CSSE results were subjected to endless scrutiny. On one occasion the Principal drew me into his office, some weeks after they were published. 'You know', he said sorrowfully, 'if M——— had been given an extra mark in Mathematics, he might have got a scholarship.'

Despite their apparent self-assurance and claims to manipulate the teacher, many boys show marked dependence on the teacher and a constant need for reassurance. These traits are more common in junior and middle forms where boys display considerable inability to settle down quickly to learning tasks. Trivial routine activity is a perpetual worry to them, and questions about what to do are almost endless at the start of any lesson. Boys bring their books up to have a task explained, to check instructions, or to make certain that they have found the correct page. Self-reliance is low.

Any change in teaching routine, unfamilar work, or variation in teacher's expectations appear to heighten anxiety. My own form were quite apprehensive on occasions when I departed from traditional chalk-and-talk styles of teaching to set cyclostyled projects or assignments. On one occasion I decided to use a lengthy assignment to count towards end-of-year marks and not set tests. This unfamiliar geography project generated a barrage of questions, complaints and peevish comments some 50 or 60 in number. The great majority related to anxiety over task performance and methods of procedure rather than the difficulty of the questions. Other complaints indicated resistance to adopting such a method of learning and teaching.

The petty nature of the anxiety is an indication of its source. My very first lesson with Form 4 precipitated a storm of questions about

the method of ruling up note-books. The teacher I replaced had insisted that certain types of headings should be underlined in red, others in blue, some in green, and the remainder in black. What did I want? My failure to lay down similar procedural rules produced endless questions about what the boys shoul' do, and pointed comments suggesting that perhaps I did not know my subject. Only after some four lessons did they get the idea that such matters were unimportant. Similarly, the idea that one might use a number of related books instead of slavishly following one textbook took a great deal of accepting by all the classes I taught. The fifth form was as anxious as the third form.

Yet, paradoxically, some boys from the former were the most confident in handling the advertising, collection and other business dealings concerning the sale of *srach* for *Succos* described in Chapter 9. One of the most anxious over schoolwork was completely at home in the share market dealings during the mining boom in 1969. Some third-formers also dabbled in shares. The third form 'newspaper' was of high calibre and showed considerable ingenuity in design and layout: producing and duplicating it were tackled with confidence. A group of boys from fourth and fifth forms ran a duplicating service on behalf of Lubavitcher Youth. Its availability was advertised in the foyer of the *shul* and in *The Australian Jewish News*. Yet the same boys could be as anxious and querulous as their peers when faced with novel learning situations, even though in another school my expectations would be far from unusual. The end result, of course, was for novel methods of learning to be discouraged and more reliance placed on traditional pedagogy, thus subtly reinforcing the manipulative effect of classroom interactions on teachers' behaviour.

A related phenomenon is the need boys have to be recognized and approved by their peers and the teacher. During the course of a lesson when individual work is being done, boys constantly bring out their work to have it approved or praised. One boy's success in gaining the teacher's approbation provokes a chain reaction among the others. His peers grab their own books, with anxious, tense expressions and come out. 'Is mine all right too? What do you think of mine? Look, sir, look . . . that's good, isn't it?' The apparent need to be recognized makes them jostle each other in their anxiety, and to crowd around

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the teacher.

Discussions also provoke similar reactions unless a tight control is maintained, and exchanges are conducted formally. If an informal discussion starts up between the teacher and a few boys in one part of the room, others will rush over to join in. They crowd around to get heard, jostle each other and the teacher indiscriminately. Verbal exchanges are heated and passionate, with a high level of accompanying gesticulation. The dynamics of the interpersonal exchanges are highly charged, and almost instinctively the teacher backs away from the encounter, or persuades the boys back into their seats, where they sit like so many barely-repressed volcanoes ready to burst out again. To prevent this, authoritarian methods have to be used.

This type of behaviour has echoes in the tradition of scholarship in the *yeshivot* of Eastern Europe, as Zborowski and Herzog (1952: 99) comment:

> Even in a formal classroom, however, the students often jump up on the benches in their excitement, or leave their seats in order to crowd around the teacher. Their great reverence for him is no deterrent to the vehemence of the arguments they hurl against each other and against him. A good teacher presides over the verbal battles with dignity and strength, preferring the active students to the ones who are passive and silent.

The tenor of constantly reiterated comments from members of the full-time teaching staff supports these impressions of boys' behaviours. They are 'very different from boys at other schools'. They are 'very difficult and demanding . . . get up to many things; you have to keep on your toes all the time'. The boys are 'very likeable, once you get to know them, but very demanding'. An almost invariable rider would accompany any comment: 'They are *so* different; it's difficult to put your finger on the reason, but it's definitely there. I don't know what it is. They *can* be so likeable.'

A comprehensive explanation was offered by a non-Jewish, part-time teacher with considerable experience in state schools. 'They are very difficult boys, nervous and very demanding. Each boy thinks everything has to be done for him. If you tell one boy something, all the rest will want to be told the same thing individually. If you ask me, I put it down to genetic causes—racial characteristics.'

Coming from a part-time teacher, such a comment is surprising, as

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the part-time teachers had a number of sanctions working for them which would tend to reduce bad behaviour from the boys. Firstly, many are highly qualified as they are 'borrowed' from Advanced Colleges of Education with which the school has developed contacts. Other part-time senior teachers come from independent schools, where they hold positions of subject responsibility. Respect for their expertise is particularly marked among the fifth- and sixth-formers, who depend on the part-time staff for their success in the end of the year examinations. Any qualification that enhances the expertise is enthusiastically noted. A replacement senior history teacher had to be found in the middle of the year. At the time he was a member of the examining panel for the VUSEB. The boys steadfastly held the opinion that he had inside information about the examination papers, and would not be persuaded otherwise. My own responsibility as a member of the examining panel for Leaving Geography produced similar reactions, no matter how often I pointed out that I had no inside knowledge.

The possession of knowledge and expertise helps a part-time teacher maintain discipline for another reason. The second powerful sanction at his disposal is his power to withdraw the knowledge by leaving the job. The boys know this. The position is not his main source of income but a sideline. He has few loyalties to the school, and thus has no compunction about leaving. Boys express their fears that good teachers will leave, just as they vent their hostility against poor teachers, i.e. those who lack knowledge and ability to impart it by authoritarian means. During my second year due to increasing responsibilities elsewhere, my position at the school became that of part-time matriculation social studies teacher. On several occasions, members of the class would order others to stop fooling about or else I would leave. That this could happen caused the boys considerable anxiety. The part-time teacher is thus able to make his scarcity in the labour market work for him in controlling a class. It will not save a grossly incompetent teacher, however, as the boys have a highly developed sense of getting value for their fees. They play up in class and force the teacher to leave, or approach the Principal and demand that he be sacked and replaced by someone more competent.

In many respects, boys' behaviour takes on a transactional character

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in senior forms. 'Good' behaviour is traded for 'good' teaching. If the latter is not forthcoming 'bad' behaviour results until either good teaching is obtained or the offending teacher leaves, to be replaced hopefully by a better teacher. The demands of the academic tradition's 'examinamania' clearly operate to determine how the boys construct the meaning of 'good' behaviour and 'good' teaching in strictly utilitarian terms. It is immaterial to them that it may not be good education.

Interpersonal exchanges with religious staff

Personal exchanges between boys and religious teaching staff in the classroom situation could not be witnessed directly, but incidents could be heard and seen indirectly, and their results noted. Although religious lessons are usually orderly and controlled, there are many exceptions when the tolerance of the religious teacher is tried beyond endurance. Tempers are lost explosively; boys speak of being slapped or cuffed hard, usually about the head or face; and on occasions the teacher bursts out of the classroom almost apoplectic with fury, leaving behind a hubbub of noise, laughter and some jeering. Junior rabbis appear to have most trouble, especially from the two junior forms. They can be seen in the doorway expostulating heatedly with the boys, and demanding quiet and good behaviour if the religious lesson is to continue. Often this would not occur, and the Principal would have to be called in.

Two boys were expelled during the year, on both occasions for disobedience and insolence to a teaching rabbi. The more serious of the cases provoked anxious comings and goings of rabbis and other religious teaching staff, culminating in long, heated meetings in the Principal's office. When the boy was finally expelled, the parents visited the school to express their concern that he was being debarred from an important geography examination. The boy was not re-instated for several weeks. In direct contrast, no boy was expelled for insolence and disobedience to secular staff, although such incidents were not infrequent. The onus of proof lies squarely on the secular teacher, with every credence being placed in the boy, should the matter ever reach the Principal. Few secular staff invoke the ultimate sanction of expulsion, even though they may send a boy to the

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Principal for disciplining. The boys are clearly aware of the ambivalence.

It is not clear how boys construct the norms that should prevail during religious lessons. Knowledge and expertise do not suffice, apparently, as they do in the academic tradition. On more than one occasion, a senior lay teacher, whose qualifications entitled him to the approbation of the community, was tried to the limit of his patience by the fifth form. His discussions with me on such occasions allowed him to express his frustration over the boys' lack of co-operation and disruptive behaviour. They challenge everything he says; often do not believe even what is written in the Scripture, and seem intent on creating disorder in the class by frequent questions and irrelevant comments. Yet one of the senior teaching rabbis apparently had little difficulty with the more difficult third form, or with the junior class for *mishnayis* during the afternoon. His erudition, dignified presence and apparently imperturbable manner seemed to make indiscipline and silliness out of the question. The *mishnayis* class were constantly expressing their concern about being late for his lesson: they would get into 'trouble', as the rabbi did not like lateness.

When religious staff discuss challenges to their authority, it is in terms which lay the blame on the boys and their home backgrounds. The young teaching rabbi, so sorely tried by the first form commented: 'They are very brash and ill-mannered. A lot of it is due to being spoilt at home. They are indulged in every way.' To another religious teacher, the boys are badly behaved because of the school itself. 'There are many wild boys in that class. They need more discipline in the school. There is no real discipline at all . . . a general slack attitude about the place. It makes it difficult to hold the boys. Having a woman in charge of Form 2 is a mistake. I can't exactly say what it is, but there *is* a generally poor tone about the place.'

Interpersonal exchanges with administrative staff

In contrast to relationships with teaching staff, those between boys and the administrative and para-administrative staff tend to be casual, informal, and relaxed. None of this group of staff is involved with the direct transmission of either tradition. The school secretary assists with supervision of boys' lunch time. She admonishes those who do

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not wash their hands properly, and generally tries to ensure that boys carry out their ritual obligations as punctiliously as possible. The boys accept her fussing with good humour. When boys come to her office for administrative matters, interpersonal exchanges are relaxed and informal. The secretary knows all the boys personally by name, and assumes a firm 'motherly' approach to them. The boys invariably respond well. It seems that tense interpersonal exchanges are confined mostly to the classrooms.

The caretaker similarly experiences few difficulties, although the demands the boys place on him to mend equipment or provide sports gear are at times excessive. He handles boys firmly if they loiter behind in a classroom which he is trying to clean up after the school day. He has few discipline problems as he is attached to the school in general, rather than the form structure and organization. He too has nothing to do with the formal transmission of the traditions.

We might assume that the secretary and caretaker experience few difficulties because they are basically unrelated to the organization which is concerned with the boys' actual learning. By assisting boys to leave at the end of a day, they are, in fact helping them to escape it. As Shipman has pointed out (1968 : 56), the secretary and caretaker 'can become key figures in a school because their status is not defined by the same norms that bind staff and pupils'. This is implicit in their relationships with boys who adopt correspondingly relaxed styles of interpersonal exchanges.

Interpersonal exchanges with peers

As with exchanges between boys and staff, it is convenient to distinguish those that occur between boys in informal situations, such as the playground or excursions (though the latter are also intended to assist learning), and in formal situations such as the classroom.

Informal situations

Interpersonal exchanges in the playground and adjoining areas range from the relaxed air of a group of senior boys deep in discussion with some of the Rabbinical College students, to the exuberance and noise of those of all ages playing games or a sport (Plate 8). Smaller boys play 'chasy' all over the campus, not excluding the *shul*, through which

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they are apt to career in apparent disregard of the reverence that one might expect to prevail there.

The close spatial confines of the playground bring boys of all ages together. One result is a high degree of supportive and nurturant behaviour shown by some senior boys towards those much younger. Should one of the primary grades get hurt in a tumble, he will be assisted back onto his feet and comforted by a senior boy nearby, with no sign of self-consciousness. Considerable patience and gentleness are displayed. Often the small child will be picked up and briefly cuddled before being put down again, to run off, his injury forgotten. Some senior boys seem to be more in demand as protectors and comforters than others, and the sight of a tall sixth-former holding the hand of a toddler from the kindergarten or primary school is quite commonplace.

It would be easy but an oversimplification to see in this close, supportive behaviour proof of the values placed on love and tolerance in the man-community value orientation. A more likely explanation is related to the close kinship relationships in a small school-community where brothers or cousins can be found in all grades. Traditionally, Jews place high value on members of a family caring for each other.

Despite the excitement and occasional quarrels generated by the games going on simultaneously in all parts of the limited playground area, it is rare for actual fighting to erupt. Arguments are far more frequent but very seldom lead to physical aggression. Their nature and intensity depend on the games being played. In summer, for instance, three small cricket pitches are marked out on the walls of the main teaching block, and there is fierce competition among junior boys to claim one of the pitches during lunch-time or after school. During games boys from one pitch get in the way of those from other pitches, balls stray into others' 'territories' and are occasionally pirated. As a result, tempers run hot with high-pitched arguments, and scuffles over possession of the ball.

A further ball game, colloquially termed 'downball', is played against the walls, and seems to be more favoured in winter and autumn than summer. In essence it is a modified type of fives played by pairs or small teams. The object is to hit the ball down onto the ground with the hand so that it rebounds from the wall out of reach of an opponent.

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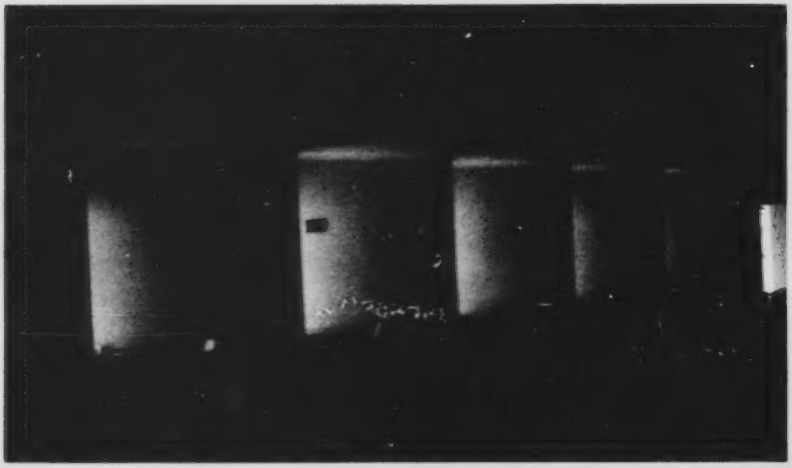

Plate 1. Study alcoves and the muslin curtain in the balcony of the *shul*.

Plate 2. Senior boys in class.

Plate 3. A group of primary grade pupils demonstrate their knowledge at the *Torah* Evening. The Ark of the Law and *Ner Tamid* can be seen in the background.

Plate 4. A circle of dancing Lubavitchers welcomes a *Sefer Torah.*

Plate 5. The new *Sefer Torah* is carried towards the *shul*.

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Plate 6. The scribe writes new letters to complete the *Sefer Torah*, while members of the congregation look on.

Plate 7. Dr Goldmann addresses the assembled school.

Plate 8. Life in the playground near the main teaching block.

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Plate 9. An interlude during an informal basketball game. The fringes (*tzitzit*) of the *tallit katan* are clearly visible at boys' waists.

Plate 10. The roof of the *succah* (foreground), with the main teaching block in the background.

Plate 11. A fourth-former cuts cypress branches and other material (*srach*) for the *succah*.

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Plate 12. Several senior students prepare to take the mobile *succah* to an outer suburban school during the Festival of *Succos*.

Plate 13. A group of rabbinical students and Lubavitcher rabbis in the *Yeshivah Gedolah*.

Boys of all ages play the game, and it is a particular favourite of rabbinical students, some of whom show considerable speed and skill in what can be fast and exciting matches.

They can also be noisy and, like all the sports that are played, they also present the incongruous picture of participants wearing *yarmelkehs* or hats engaging in energetic sports. Shirts or jackets can be disarrayed —occasionally they are torn in vigorous basketball games—and the *tzitzit* work loose to flap from the waist (Plate 9).

Some few boys show athleticism and physical co-ordination of a very high order. These attack the games with dash, vigour and concentrated intensity. In consequence, injuries can be common but are treated lightly and even become class jokes. During the year, a number of boys in my form were injured in ways that merited professional medical treatment and, possibly, enforced rest. Neglected, crushed toes and infected blisters, bruised insteps and multiple lacerations from football stops, grossly ingrowing toenails, severe contusions to thighs and legs all came to my attention, and on several occasions had to be bathed and treated on the spot. No other treatment had been sought, because the boys dismissed the injuries as of little importance.

Vigour and energy are not confined to body-contact sports. Even cricket, not noted for producing excitable behaviour, can erupt into intense, animated activity and fierce, vituperative arguments. Boys dash compulsively up to the master-in-charge to question whether so-and-so is out, or whether a run should be scored from a dubious hit. Hot words are shouted from one end of the pitch to the other, gesticulations and impassioned movements indicative of disgust at a decision occur frequently. Cricket too can be a noisy game for participants.

For a sizeable proportion of boys, however, it and other sports can present surprising problems. These are due to a higher incidence of postural defects and poor psychomotor co-ordination and dexterity than is encountered in non-Jewish schools. Lordosis (sway back), flat feet, obesity and lack of stamina are also evident, inhibiting full participation in games. The phenomena of boys repeatedly fumbling a simple catch, running in an awkward splay-foot manner, and otherwise displaying inefficient control over their physical co-ordination are commonplace.

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Some of the injuries I had seen may well have been caused by this very fact, exacerbated by the energy with which games are played. Fit, co-ordinated bodies get injured less frequently. My own observations were corroborated by the sports master. He too had been surprised at the high incidence of postural and co-ordination defects, which made his work correspondingly more difficult. Not only were boys reluctant to perform many exercises in some cases, or did so very clumsily when coerced, but a significant proportion were literally unable to, and had to be first taught the psychomotor skills sports masters can take for granted in other schools.

Poor condition and disinclination for physical activity are not confined to the school environs. As part of their geography work I took groups of senior students on field trips to the range of hills some 20 miles from the city. Part of one exercise involved the ascent of a steep track to a vantage point from which the countryside could be viewed. The ascent and descent of the track, which was unusually dry for the time of the year, posed serious problems for a surprising number of boys.

From such observations about boys' sporting ability and general lack of hardy physical development, compared with most boys at any school within the independent system of the academic tradition, there seems to be some evidence to suggest that Lubavitcher School and its associated community places a low value on sport. This is quite in accordance with what we might expect from the man-activity value orientation of the Great Tradition. The ideal man is the scholar, not the athlete. Training the mind must take precedence over training the body.

Formal situations

Informal interpersonal exchanges between boys and their peers in classrooms vary greatly according to the authority of the teacher taking the lesson, the subject being studied, and other variables such as the time and type of day—whether windy and rainy, or fine and sunny—and the period of the year. It is quite obvioue that boys are affected by approaching religious festivals, just as they are by their aftermath. Thus we find that classrooms can be studious places in the main, but on very many occasions can quickly change into situations

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which are the very opposite of an ideal teaching-learning environment. The more desirable state of affairs is often only achieved when the teacher confines his work to didactic teaching methods, or when set work is being done. At other times, classrooms can be places where interpersonal exchanges between boys are tense, anxious, and prone to erupt into outright physical or verbal aggression. When these less desirable conditions occur, boys take little notice of any of their peers, such as prefects or form captains, who have some position of authority.

This is more apparent when a teacher is late for class, as all formal restraint is then lacking. In this circumstance violence can occasionally break out between boys, or is directed against the classroom furniture. Boys rush frenetically about, systematically bang desk lids up and down, kick furniture, push each other over desks, punch, wrestle, and shout. The pandemonium gives every impression of mindless violence and uncontrolled aggression. A subsequent survey of the room provides supporting evidence. Desks lack backs, or they fall off if leant against. Some desk lids are cracked right across and are only held together by the wooden cross-piece screwed on the back, and even this is loose. Hinges are loose or missing entirely. Some bottoms of desks have been punched in, and the seats sit loosely on the bars to which they are normally screwed.

Like other rooms in the teaching block, the room in which violence of this type occurs shows other signs of neglect. The hessian backing on the display boards along the rear wall hangs in shreds in one or two places. Old torn roller blinds flap in the draught coming through the damaged sash of one window, which cannot be properly closed. Even new blinds provided later in the year fail to operate after a few days due to broken springs. They also flap in the draught. The boys joke about it: 'Nothing lasts long in this room, we're a rough lot. In any case, see what quality you get from a Jewish supplier.' There is no attempt to help repair the damage.

The comment of the boys about their own behaviour was echoed by other boys during the year. They clearly see themselves as excitable and tense. 'We are an excitable race, don't worry about it,' said one matriculation boy during a lesson, when I expressed concern about the noise and bad behaviour obviously going on in the *shul* below us. On another occasion, a similar disruption to our work occurred, and

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one of the boys went downstairs to control the junior class clamouring in the *shul*. 'Don't be too violent with them,' called out one of his friends as he left the room. When I expressed surprise that Jews condoned violence, and in the *shul* of all places, I was informed again that excitement and occasional violence are not uncommon among Jews. 'They are just part of the way we behave.'

When violence is directed against them, however, especially in the form of verbal aggression when a teacher completely loses his temper, a wary masked look can descend over the boys' faces. They wait, tense and curiously passive until the onslaught stops. It is as if they expect to be castigated in this way. The same wary, defenceless behaviour characterized adult Jews during an incident in the year, when the owner of a house adjoining the school stormed into the office to complain about boys cheeking him from the balcony of the teaching block. Not one of the Jews tried to counter the tirade of abuse: all adopted the passive manner.

Even when classroom behaviour does not degenerate into outright violence on the scale described above, classrooms commonly convey the impression of movement, activity and bustle. They are very 'busy' places. Especially in junior forms there are constant consultations between boys, who leave their seats and go to see what others are doing, or to show them their own work. The harmony is easily broken. Books are snatched, only to be snatched back again. Blows, recriminations and insults are freely exchanged. Even in a senior form, it is not uncommon for a boy to leap violently out of his seat, dash down the aisle, and punch another boy, all while a lesson is supposed to be going on. Verbal aggression—taunts, threats, sneering remarks flung around the class—is far more common.

Unless a lesson is tightly controlled by didactic teaching, which the teacher is virtually forced into, or by constantly patrolling the classroom during individual work to squash incipient silly behaviour, the class is seldom doing relaxed, quiet work for more than half of any period. Even at its most relaxed a class seems to be in a state of perpetual tension. Boys' movements are sharp and jerky; books are closed with a snap; desk lids are flung back rather than lifted. Everything is done vigorously. Even when seemingly absorbed in a task, some boys still show a high degree of motor activity. They rock

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backwards and forwards in the manner associated with religious study or prayer, and fidget endlessly in their seats. It is obviously difficult to keep still for very long, or to hold concentration. Heads lift inquisitively at the slightest incident. Even if it only involves one boy, others want to chip in with gratuitous comments. They offer advice, make denigrating remarks, tell the offender to 'shut up'—anything except get quietly on with their own work. Some exchanges carry cultural or ethnic overtones reflecting the traditions represented at the school. For example, during a geography lesson in fifth form, one boy started commenting on religious duties for the approaching High Holiday. This raised the ire of one aggressive boy. 'Why don't you shut up for a change, *yeshivah bocher*,' using the term traditionally applied to a student of the classical *yeshivot* of Eastern Europe prior to their collapse under Nazi and earlier persecutions. A boy's religious and ethnic affiliation can also be used as the basis of a comment. In a very similar situation, where one boy had made a particularly relevant observation in class, came the jibe from a peer: 'You're pretty good, *magyar*, now shut up.' The term *magyar* is an oblique reference to the Hungarian origin of the ultra-Orthodox congregation to which the boy belongs.

Classes which show this pattern of hyperactivity might suggest also that little work is ever accomplished. However, this is not so as most boys manage to complete the majority of the work they have been set. Some are rapid workers, but seem unable to settle down to other exercises when finished their original task. When finished they go around bothering others, or use the opportunity for starting petty incidents such as blowing noses ostentatiously, throwing paper or other missiles, getting up to look out of the windows and wave to those below. Such incidents often give the impression of being calculated challenges to the authority of the teacher. They are all performed with a wary, cheeky eye on his location and degree of surveillance. If the offender is reprimanded he effects an air of injured innocence, and plays to the gallery for the support of his peers.

Role-taking and role-making in school life

The constant interplay and subtle shifts between role-taking and role-making by boys and staff provide the basis for a great deal of the

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dynamics of school life. It is clear that boys make roles for themselves in informal situations and exchanges with teaching staff, by acting in an adult manner which seems within the accepted norms of Jewish culture. To an extent this can be problematic for the teacher, who may be forced to modify his own role perceptions. The most extreme case of boys' role-making concerns their activities as petty entrepreneurs during such Festivals as *Succos*, described in Chapter 9, when they handle quite complicated transactions with business acumen and aplomb.

Within the informality of the peer group, boys' interpersonal relations seem governed by more role-making than role-taking. It is as if boys are unwilling to accept their peers on the basis of such criteria as friendliness, open extrovert personality, good manners and consideration for others, even sporting ability. From the evidence available, these are all devalued. In their place intellectual ability and application to study are clearly valued: having 'brains' gives a boy considerable prestige in the eyes of his peers, stressing an achievement rather than an ascription orientation.

The emphasis boys place on achievement is brought out by the aspirations of the group of fourth form boys who are a representative sample of the school. As the following summary shows all but one choice of career fall into the Professional and Higher Managerial category adopted by Wiseman (1970 : 224). Commercial, scientific, and medical careers predominate. Compared with fathers' occupations, a majority of the boys' aspirations are upwardly socially mobile, even when falling into the same socio-economic category. Success is seen in terms of gaining a place at university, or undertaking a comparable form of tertiary training. It is obvious that the boys are markedly achievement-oriented, and consider that intellectual capacity is the key to their futures. The possession of 'brains' can now be seen in its true light as the *sine qua non* for achieving such ambitions. Boys who possess 'brains' are consequently held in high esteem; other traits that might make for popularity are devalued.

Boys adopt similar criteria in their relationships with secular teachers in formal teaching-learning situations. Academic ability and authoritarian pedagogy are valued. In fact, the boys virtually manoeuvre the teacher into what may be for him an uncongenial role by their

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expressed and implied demands that he use didactic methods. These constitute 'good teaching'. In return for obtaining it boys are willing to take the 'good pupil' role. The transactional nature of the exchange is pushed even further in relation to obtaining examination marks. Here, the prudential element in the academic tradition is clearly operating. Boys depart from the traditional good pupil role, and become hard bargainers for the extra half mark or so. Finally, role-making by boys reaches its most extreme form in relation to a teacher when they attempt, or claim they attempt to have him sacked from the school. In this instance, boys are taking upon themselves the role of an employer.

Thus it is in the formal situation of the classroom that the dynamics of role-taking and role-making are problematical for both teacher and boy. The latter is most secure when he is able to take the 'good pupil' role in response to the teacher taking the 'good teacher' role. Other styles of teaching are likely to produce insecurity, anxiety and tension which can all lead to the kind of silly, obstreperous behaviour that has been described. It seems also that the 'good pupil' role is only taken when the teacher is actually present in the teaching-learning situation. When he is absent, or when he wants to make a role that is other than that of the traditional pedagogue, boys adopt deviant roles, and become tense, aggressive, and occasionally violent against persons and property. In such a situation only a strongly authoritarian teacher can satisfy boys' role expectations. His deputy in the form captain or a prefect is manifestly ineffectual as he cannot take the role needed under such circumstances and become effectively authoritarian in a way that commands respect from the deviant boys.

There seems to be a basically similar pattern in boys' interpersonal relationships with religious teaching staff in the formal setting of religious classes. In these the predominant aim is for boys to learn the basis for taking roles as Orthodox Jews. There is little doubt that they value being Jewish, as the following comments make clear. There is thus as inherent paradox in religious instruction classes between the desire to become Jews on the one hand and the deviant behaviour that would seem to inhibit it on the other.

The majority of boys in fourth form were asked what it means to be a Jew. This direct question was put at the end of the year, when I

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Table 3. Summary of Fourth Form Boys' Aspirations in Relation to Fathers' Occupations[a]

Aspirations	S.E. Category of aspiration	Father's occupation
Accountancy College course; qualified accountant	1	Market stall holder
University science course; 'scientific' career	1	Research scientist
University or College Accountancy course; qualified accountant	1	Milkbar owner
University or College Accountancy course; qualified accountant	1	Owner—belt-making factory
University science course; career uncertain	—	Caretaker
University natural history course; career in CSIRO as zoologist	1	Research Fellow
Talmudical Seminary for one year then university science course; career uncertain	—	Delicatessen proprietor
University science course; science laboratory work in Israel	1 or 2	Unstated
Medical course at university; doctor in medical research	1	Hotel proprietor
Veterinary science course at university; veterinarian	1	Pet-shop retailer

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Aspirations	S.E. Category of aspiration	Father's occupation
University science & engineering course; aeronautical space engineer	1	Butcher
University science course; career uncertain	—	Coat manufacturer
Medical course at university; doctor	1	Storeman in factory
University science course; career uncertain	—	Manager of knitting factory
Uncertain	—	Manufacturer & retailer of fabric
Pharmaceutical training course; pharmacist	1	Builder and contractor
Veterinary science course at university; veterinarian	1	Quilt manufacturer
Accountancy course (unspecified); business accountant	1	Manager of weaving factory
Technical course aimed at factory trainee in motor mechanics	3	Sock manufacturer

[a] N = 19; one student absent.

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had developed maximum rapport with the group. Apart from correcting spelling errors that might lead to faulty interpretation, all answers are given verbatim, as any attempt at paraphrasing them would be to impose my own constructions of what they mean. The only 'external' influence is the three categories used to group answers: religious orientation, nationalistic or ethnic orientation, and uncommitted.

The way of tradition—boys' self images

The religious orientation towards being a Jew

The fact that I am a Jew does not mean anything to me but the fact that I am a ———— i.e. an observant Jew, makes me feel above any other nation or religion in the world.[1]

The people who are, unfortunately, in our days lax in their observances constitute to me as empty shells, but those who keep to the tradition of our elders are righteous. They do not cheat their elders who died in the 2nd War for the same thing their sons are forsaking. They are traitors.

But still, even if somebody was born a Jew, he has a different quality in him. He is more refined, more co-operative than the common 'mob' in whose midst we dwell in. Of course there are exceptions.

To sum this up, I, being an observant Jew, feel satisfied when doing the work and observing G–d's own law. To me being a Jew is something that is my highest asset.

* * *

To me to be Jewish does not mean to have a Jewish mother or to have a 'Yiddishe hartz' (lit. a Jewish heart). It means to be willing to sacrifice oneself completely to the Torah, i.e. to observe the Laws as well as to learn the ———— and ————. It means that I should go to school or work every day and deal fairly with my fellow men, not as the image of a Jew is today. It also means to go to shul not twice a year on ———— and ———— but to go every day 3 times a day even if it is inconvenient for me. It also means that a Jew should raise children ———— ———— (living in Torah).

* * *

Since I was born Jewish I have often thought about being a gentile but I can't imagine myself any other way but Jewish. To me, it means being a member of what I consider to be the true religion. I feel that being Jewish has made me slightly more respectful to other people than the average boy in the

1. Words in Hebrew script are indicated by a dash————————.

street is. I can see a meaning in life and the goal of great knowledge is something for me to strive for. I think that because of this meaning in life, the crime rate among Jewish people is so low. I feel that learning the Talmud and religious studies helps sharpen my brain to enable me to understand secular studies better.

* * *

Jewishness is denoted by one thing only, the Jewish *religion*, i.e. the very fact which has made Abraham, Isaac and Jacob Jews, was their belief in monotheism and the piousness with which they approached daily life. So too, this religion and tradition has been passed down till this day. So to be Jewish in this age, I believe that the same requirements are necessary as were in the days of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob—the Jewish religion and tradition. I maintain that when a Jew keeps his religion, that his religion keeps him.

* * *

If you want I could talk in length about the greatness about the Jew spiritually and physically and explain how great the Jewish morals and ideals and intellect is, that is *Kabbalas Oil* i.e. accepting the Yoke of G–d without understanding everything. One doesn't have to understand what the use of being a use and what it means [*sic*]. What is important is simply accepting everything what you have been taught by someone older, wiser and more knowledgeable than you and when this is accepted then one can start delving into spiritual things but with this study the intention is not to believe in G–d but to get a stronger clinging to Him.

* * *

To me it is a great honour to be born a Jew because I am endowed with a responsibility which in return for my observance I receive a safeguard against the bad things of this world.

It means that if I keep all the Mitzvot as many do there is less chance of corruption and sickness in my life. When I walk around with a skull cap I know that I must act according to the Torah to keep up my honour as a Jew.

I find great enjoyment in being a Jew because we have a Shabbos which only Jews can appreciate, there are times when we feel things we can not feel other times.

* * *

It means having a steady religion which does not change periodically as other religions do. It gives me something to believe in which is pretty reliable. It gives me hopes for certain things in the future. Although some people swear at us in the street I think these things can sometimes be forgotten.

* * *

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To believe in G–d the holy one blessed be he.

* * *

On Saturday I have something to look forward to instead of just mucking around. When I say my prayers I say it with feeling. During school we are taught things that men of previous times taught to their disciples what to do what not. On Saturday we can't do any manner of work, not even drive an automatic car because you still cause work by turning the engine on.

* * *

It means to live a life governed by the Law and Spirit of the TORAH. It means sticking to a certain method of approaching anything. This is not just holding on to some laws but a complete ethical code. It means being one of the Jewish people. Yet a person can be Jewish even if he does not keep the religion. If he preserves his national background and culture he is still Jewish. But I believe that you can not lump this under categories. A person is Jewish if he believes he is.

* * *

All I can say is that it is the greatest thing ever to be a Jewish boy. You can always walk around knowing that you are different from others in that you have sets of laws that distinguish you from an animal and a man. You have laws for eating, sleeping, wearing of clothes and any other thing you can think of. I myself am not the most orthodox but I keep a few basic laws. I consider being Jewish as the greatest privilege of my life.

* * *

The nationalistic orientation towards being a Jew

I feel proud of our tradition and history, in overcoming greater odds and opposition. A society only exists when there are restrictions, and we with our added restrictions feel some unexplainable feeling of success.

I feel proud to be a Jew when one of my fellow religionists name appears in a paper. We all feel united.

* * *

To me it is a big honour knowing and believing that the Jewish people are different from all other peoples. The closeness of our people, as was shown in the 1967 emergency. I think honestly that every person in our nation at one time or another has a feeling for religion. If anyone can name a people that has oppressed so much over the centuries [*sic*] and yet has been able to survive and flourish I will then admit that our nation is a normal one. Let's take a festival such as we are celebrating at the moment Chanuka. When an oppressed

people rose up and defeated the enemies who outnumbered us. It means to me a sincere believe in G–d.

To built up a state after being oppressed not less than 3 to 4 years early shows our sincere hope not to be broken up.

* * *

To me it means a lot of things to be Jewish and I am by no means impartial to the fact. What I do all do, how I think is basically governed by my Jewishness. This doesn't mean every minute of the day—I am affected, in some ways greatly, by my environment and by things not Jewish. But after reading about the massacres and sufferings Jews underwent under the Egyptians, the Syrians I feel that I am here to keep the tradition alive and to carry on in doing my tiny part in keeping the Jewish nation living.

After all the hardships we've gone through I would go round with a guilty conscious all my life if I would forsake my religion. I don't take it as a joke nor do I take Jewish customs as a joke. If my grandparents are always looking to save money it's not so funny as it may seem.

Another, possibly more tangible way to preserve us is to go to Israel and support it, learn Hebrew. Such an effort as the Jews made there must not go to waste. Anyway ——— it is the Land of my Fathers.

* * *

Uncommitted

To me being a Jew is a way of life and I can not see myself living in any other way. This is because I was brought up as a Jew in a Jewish atmosphere and I am used to it.

* * *

Quantitatively, there is a high proportion of boys (73.3 per cent), who see the meaning of being Jewish mostly in religious terms. Three boys (20.0 per cent) see it more in nationalistic terms, but also refer to religion. The remaining boy has no pronounced orientation either way.

Qualitatively, boys attach a variety of meanings to their Jewishness. It is most valued as a source of ethical rules promoting good individual conduct and harmonious relations with others. Just over half of the boys in the sample indicate this. Feelings of honour, pride, and privilege at being a Jew are clearly expressed in a third of the answers. Being different from other peoples or cultures is also valued, although there are two senses in which the term is used. In one, there is no sense of

being different *and* superior. In the other, the superiority of the Jewish way of life, or aspects of it, is explicity stated or implied. Also valued about being a Jew is the feeling of being united with a people (folk) and a tradition, which has enabled them to resist hardships and become successful. The importance of Jewish learning, knowledge and teaching is mentioned by four boys. Explicit recognition is given to tradition.

Among those who emphasize non-religious meanings of being a Jew, as much weight is attached to honour, pride and privilege as to the sense of being united and keeping tradition. Least mentioned is being superior to others. However, among those emphasizing religious meanings of being a Jew, feelings of superiority are most mentioned. From observations and this evidence it is legitimate to suggest that, for some boys, adherence to religious beliefs is not untinged with a certain arrogance or, at least, assurance that Judaism is superior to other faiths.

The percentage of boys who appear to profess religious beliefs is higher than might be expected. At the time of Dr Nahum Goldmann's visit, the Principal had made no secret of the fact that, according to his estimate, some 50 per cent of boys in the school came from non-observant homes. On this basis a score of 73.3 per cent gives grounds for optimism.

On the other hand, the possibility should not be discounted that when they were asked to do this exercise, some boys decided to present a more favourable picture of themselves than was actually the case. I had not asked them to give their names (although some still did), and went to great trouble to play down the importance of the data. Despite this there was a quite perceptible undercurrent of anxiety in the class. One boy in particular was visibly worried. He asked twice why he had to do it, then went over to another boy and tried to read his answer. His final statement inevitably stood out. It is the briefest of those given. There is the possibility in this case, and maybe in others, that a form of 'pluralistic ignorance' existed at the time (Allport, 1933). Some boys might have felt obliged to state they were more religious than they actually were, believing that others would do the same.

There seems to be a number of contradictions in the ways boys make or take roles in response to the pressures upon them in both

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formal and informal situations within the school. Least problematical would seem to be their views of themselves as Jews, in which it is clear that religion plays the major, if not dominant part. Yet, behaviour in formal learning situations where the knowledge of the Great Tradition is imparted by skilled literati can be dysfunctional and often the very antithesis of what might be expected to be accorded to such experts. A very similar paradox operates in secular classes. Boys see their futures and the means to achieve them in achievement-oriented terms of tertiary education followed by professional careers. Yet, boys' behaviour in formal, secular learning situations can be dysfunctional for gaining the knowledge of the academic tradition on which access to this type of future depends.

If intellectual ability and attainment rank high in boys' scales of values it would appear to be at the cost of interpersonal relationships with their peers and others with whom they come into contact. They are not seen as so important, neither are sport or other types of recreation. The emphasis is on learning in both traditions, but it is just this aspect of their lives in school that is problematical. The way of tradition, it would seem, is the way of tension.

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The Countervailing Curriculum

The problematical nature of learning is most apparent in what can be termed the countervailing curriculum. This comprises those unplanned experiences and the informal knowledge which convey conflicting messages and meanings to boys wherever they meet as groups in interaction settings. Each of these contains stimuli in the form of other boys or people who may be present, together with artifacts and a range of written or pictorial media. All of these can convey meanings that are at odds with, and often contradict, those intended in the formal curriculum. Their overall effect is to cast doubt on the certainty of the knowledge available through planned and intentional learning experiences.

The operation of the countervailing curriculum occurs in several ways. Knowledge can be directly challenged in a quite overt manner. Customary behaviour, attitudes and feelings are similarly challenged. However, there is also the constant covert influence of the countervailing curriculum present at all times and in nearly all interaction settings. Its effect is less easy to establish with certainty as nothing is done or said in this case, which might suggest that an alternative experience and its meaning are being transmitted to those present. Despite this, it is clear from boys' reactions that a countervailing influence is at work, even though the evidence is nearly always impressionistic and based on often fleeting evidence gathered while one goes about his routine work.

Overt challenges to knowledge

The emphasis both traditions place on mastering a great deal of purely factual or cognitive information, which forms much of the content of their respective curricula, inevitably leads to situations where established knowledge and beliefs come under direct challenge. Some boys are alert to this possibility and seldom fail to question the validity

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of what is being taught in a lesson. With some 20 other boys present in a class, there is always an attentive and appreciative audience. The most dramatic challenge occurs during lessons dealing with topics and phenomena for which there are two potentially contradictory explanations—those available from scientific thought in the academic tradition in opposition to those from religious thought in the Great Tradition.

The creation of the world is one such topic. Orthodox Judaism, as we have seen, dates its calendar from the moment of Creation in 3760 B.C.E. On several occasions with my fifth form a geography lesson would touch on an aspect of geology and the age of rocks. 'The Silurian rocks in this region were laid down some 400 million years ago,' I would state, only to have one or the other of the most Orthodox boys challenge the statement. 'This cannot be. In *Chumash* it says that the world was created 5729 years ago.' For the young Chassid it became something of an obsession to correct me each time. 'We know the truth,' he would say emphatically, 'because Moses has given it to us. Your's is only a theory, and like all theories can easily be proved wrong. We have the truth.' Form 5 was not alone in challenging scientific knowledge. Periodically during the year similar occasions would arise with other forms, and my statements would be greeted with scepticism and even outright rejection by boys in Forms 3 and 4 whenever what I taught ran counter to biblical teaching.

The strength of such conviction is well illustrated by the following incident with my sixth form social studies group. During discussion about aspects of Chinese civilisation, I mentioned Toynbee's concept of historical cycles, and asked the boys whether it could be applied to events in Jewish history by way of illustration. Five thousand, seven hundred and twenty-nine years have elapsed since Moses I was told; the Messiah would come by the year six thousand or earlier. The Lubavitcher Rebbe had once prophesied that the Millenium was imminent; and had affirmed his prophesy on several subsequent occasions. I risked a few questions.

'Doesn't it worry you when I put forward different ideas such as these historical cycles?'

'No, those are only theories. We know. We don't even have to worry about it.'

'But doesn't it get you upset?'

'Why should it? We are quite certain. It's something we do not even worry about; it's not a question of belief but part of us.'

'But false prophets have arisen before—look at Shabbetai Tzevi, the seventeenth century pseudo-messiah, and what followed when he renounced Judaism.'

'Yes, we know, we know. There will always be false messiahs; this we accept, but when the true one comes we will know.'

Such conviction is all the more surprising in view of the many developments of the twentieth century, one of which was imminent at the time. This was man's first landing on the moon, but even it could be coped with. After some hesitation and much consultation with staff, the Principal permitted a large television set to be set up in the assembly hall. Classes were grudgingly allowed to come in for short periods to watch the moon landing preparations and final landing. The time for *Minchah* came and boys were being called to prayer, yet still a group lingered around the set. One of the rabbis bustled in obviously annoyed. 'Come, *daven Minchah*, it's time. Leave that, it is not important. *Minchah* is more important, come.' There could be no compromise with Orthodoxy.

Challenges to scientific knowledge could occur over such apparently trivial matters as getting Sabin oral vaccines against poliomyelitis. Teams of doctors travel around the schools in the State, administering the vaccine almost as a routine measure. The day is known beforehand, parents sign a form giving their consent, classes assemble *en masse* and, despite interruption to classwork, the whole business is over and done with relatively quickly.

Not so for some boys in my own form. Just prior to trooping over to the hall to get their doses, two boys protested in all apparent sincerity that the vaccine was *tref*, and could not be taken without breaking the *kasruth* laws.[1] Would I give an opinion please? My hesitant reply did not satisfy some boys, who promptly went to seek the rabbi's advice, before going to get their vaccine.

Kasruth prohibitions cropped up several times during the year. The

1. *Tref* (Heb.)—lit. 'torn'. Meat unfit for consumption. By extension applied to any ritually impure food. Its opposite is *kosher*.

most obvious occurred during a stop at a small country shop to get a snack on an extended geography excursion with my own form. The available food was inspected carefully, its *kosher* quality discussed at length, and then rejected in favour of soft drinks and potato crisps. Several boys appeared to go hungry rather than risk buying something they were uncertain about.

Challenges to customary behaviour

Challenges to customary behaviour occurred. A number relating to days of *Chol Ha-moed* and making religious artifacts are discussed in Chapter 9, and are examples of the countervailing curriculum operating against secular work. However, I was surprised to see beliefs about proper and fit behaviour extend into sports periods.

One incident occurred when members of my own form were required to play a kind of team race, in which they had to lie prone with their heads between the legs of other boys in a line. The young Chassid came into the classroom, his face red with righteous indignation. 'It's immoral. We should not be expected to play that game. I think it's indecent and should be banned in the school.' There could be no doubting for one moment that he and a number of others were genuinely upset at being ordered to take part in what, to them, was an indecent game. Whether they took the matter further by seeing the rabbi, I do not know, but the game was never played again.

Religious ritual behaviour becomes problematical when boys go on an excursion. One of the first questions they ask concerns the availability of water to wash their hands before a meal, and a place in which they can pray *Minchah*. The latter is not always vital if the group can get back to school, and pray in the *shul* before the time for this prayer expires. However, washing the hands and saying the Blessing and Grace are of vital importance for the more Orthodox boys.

Their solution is to take with them an aluminium pitcher to pour the water, a towel to dry the hands, and small prayer books for as many as want them. The visit of third and fourth forms to the Royal Melbourne Show saw one of the most Orthodox boys getting off the bus with a pile of prayer books, and a pitcher wrapped up in the towel. Apparently he knew of a tap in an unfrequented corner of the Showgrounds. One of my geography excursions had to be planned so

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that the lunch stop would occur at a place where the boys could wash their hands. This some 50 per cent did, at a tap on the reserve, before taking over one of the picnic rotundas in which to eat their lunch. As usual this was accompanied by Blessings and Grace.

In mid-year, the visit to a neighbouring high school by my own form to sit for the CSSE posed fewer problems. A classroom had been set aside in which the boys could eat lunch, after washing their hands in the cloakrooms. I brought food, and we ate lunch together. Afterwards the boys said the *Minchah* prayer, one of them leading the rest. He stood facing a wall and recited most of the prayers off by heart. Another boy stood at his elbow to act as prompter when he faltered. As he told me afterwards the Lubavitcher order of prayer differs from that used in his own *shul*, and he found it difficult to follow.

All the boys took part though with varying degrees of observance, swaying automatically in time with the cadence of prayer. One was dilatory in getting to his feet and had to be sharply spoken to by the young Chassid before joining the rest. I had noticed some reluctance slightly earlier, when Z———— wanted a group to say Grace with him. He was reduced to pounding on the table crying '*Benschen mit mir*' before getting the requisite numbers together.[2]

After *Minchah* the boys went to the playground, where the majority played basketball, keeping themselves segregated in one court. Here they were quite conspicuous and obviously different from the other, more casually dressed students, by virtue of their *yarmelkehs*, caps, and school suits. My hat completed our group identification. Several jeers came from other students, and on two occasions a stone was lobbed in our direction.

This was not uncommon, several of my boys informed me. More often than not, most provocation and even physical assault comes from non-observant Jewish boys rather than from *goyim*. In the previous year, the boys had been disturbed and attacked during their lunch and prayers by others, and a fracas had developed. From first-hand experience I was able to share in the feeling of being persecuted and the apprehension of both my boys and the Principal, which had resulted

2. *Benschen mit mir* (Yidd.)—'say Grace with me'.

in his request that I should stay with the boys during their lunch time.

In this instance, the effects of the countervailing curriculum were mostly indirect results of the requirements of the Great Tradition obtruding into what was essentially a keystone in the academic tradition, i.e. its examination system. Similar tensions were generated for boys from the fifth and sixth forms, when they sat for their final School Leaving and Matriculation examinations held at the Exhibition Buildings in the city. The problems of prayers, lunch, washing hands were all present at a time when maximum concentration was needed on academic matters.

Influences on attitudes and values

Although something of the boys' attitudes can be inferred from their behaviours—the objection of Form 4 boys to the 'immoral game' is indicative of their attitudes towards the sports master's requirements, for instance—there were incidents when the Great Tradition coloured boys' opinions and expressed attitudes to both school life and world events. Here we see not only Judaism operating in the narrow sense of the body of religious beliefs and practices, but the wider totality of Jewishness to which it is central. This is

> the sum total of the many varied ways in which people called Jews wish to identify as such. Prominent among them is a strong sense of peoplehood and national unity (Medding, 1968:13).

This totality found its most overt expression on the occasion when secular lessons were abandoned for the afternoon to enable all the secondary school, except for the sixth form boys, to go into the city to see the film *This Day in Israel*. The occasion was also marked by a visit to the school from the new Israeli consul to see the boys at work in several classrooms. Like comparable events, the visit to the film generated considerable anticipatory excitement on the preceding days. In consequence, discussions during normal lessons frequently veered onto the subject of Israel and Zionism.[3] The boys in my form expressed their support vehemently and with obvious determination. They carefully explained that the Lubavitcher Movement supports Zionism, although some ultra-Orthodox groups do not, as they feel

3. The movement to secure the return of Jews to Israel, and which led to the setting up of the State of Israel.

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that the fulfilment of biblical prophecies should be achieved by peaceful means and not by force.

Once the boys had found out where my own sympathies lie over the Israel question, they needed little encouragement during lessons to express other opinions about their Jewishness. Seemingly unrelated incidents in class would prompt their comments. A casual mention of law courts in the neighbourhood, during a geography lesson, brought a swift remark from one fourth-former: 'We have a very good system: there are state laws and religious laws.' As usual this provoked a flurry of comments from others, among whom the Lubavitchers were clearly the keenest to provide information both for me and their peers.

The hold exerted over some boys' imagination and loyalty by the Lubavitcher Movement is very obvious. It comes out in class discussion, in requests to help the youth group activities, and in casual interaction settings. Once I was standing in the playground watching a basketball game at the end of the year. A young Chassid came dashing up in great excitement with a picture from *Time Magazine*, which showed the Lubavitcher Rebbe being visited by the Mayor of New York. 'There,' he said triumphantly, 'that shows how important the Lubavitcher Rebbe is. The Mayor won because he got the support of Jews who make up 30 per cent of the vote. What do you think of that?'

The heavy demands of the matriculation course did not prevent similar interruptions from the countervailing curriculum. The topic of nationalism in the social studies course almost invariably provoked comments about Israel, even though the matriculation boys as a group had opted not to see the film. Their secular studies were more important they had claimed. Once again the Lubavitcher Rebbe was referred to, during one lesson, as a supporter of Israel. Although the boys were as militant about Zionism as the fourth-formers, their comments had religious overtones lacking in the more junior form. Israel was founded on religious grounds. Jerusalem would be retained and not handed back to the Arabs—the current bone of contention at the time—as this is the fulfilment of biblical prophecy, even though the founding of the Third Temple had yet to take place. It would be merely a matter of time, as it had been prophesied by the Lubavitcher Rebbe.

This last pronouncement, coming from D————, was most

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surprising as I had not thought of him as a Lubavitcher supporter. He went on to stress that the Movement was unique in Judaism by virtue of its proselytizing activities and militant faith. Like all boys, who talked about their faith, he spoke quite naturally and unself-consciously, with obvious interest and lively concern. I could not help making mental comparisons with other religious schools at which I had taught, where such matters would have provoked embarrassed amusement among boys, if they were discussed at all.

Such matter-of-fact attitudes towards Jewishness also extended into non-religious topics provoked by something or other in an academic lesson. On occasions this gave insights into boys' backgrounds that could be disturbing for me, even though treated with apparent casualness by them. One incident arose out of a lesson on kinship networks and lineages, which formed part of the fourth form geography course. After I had drawn the classical genealogical diagram on the board by way of illustration, I noticed one boy industriously drawing. His sketch turned out to be a lineage diagram of his own family. A large number of the symbols had been blacked in to signify deaths. Dates were indicated against them, all ominously within a narrow time-span. 'Most of my relatives came from Eastern Europe, and died in concentration camps,' the boy explained quietly, his face expressionless and any feelings concealed by the masked look I had seen in others, when sensitive topics were being discussed. Several of his neighbours were listening, and nodded: it appeared they too had suffered similar losses. To me, this was the quintessence of the overt countervailing curriculum and a stark insight into one facet of the 'totality of Jewishness'.

The covert operation of the countervailing curriculum

Whereas the overt effects of the countervailing curriculum are manifest in the verbal interactions of those within interaction settings, its covert effects are less easy to reconstruct. They arise from other components in the total 'environment of objects' to which each individual will attach meanings. Thus we should take into account such aspects as spatial arrangements, artifacts, inanimate symbolic communication—signs, notices, display material—together with the 'inarticulate experience' derived from the actions of others. Their

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meanings for those individuals who are present can be assumed to complement those already obtained through the overt countervailing curriculum.

Artifacts in the environment

The classroom contains a medley of artifacts relating to both traditions. Boys' phylacteries in their bright, velvet bags can be seen in desks, on cupboard tops, even on a window sill if it is conveniently situated near a boy's place in class. Religious books may be neatly arranged in cupboards, though quite often, especially following a period of religious instruction, they are left in apparent disorder on top of the teacher's table. A *mezuzah* is attached to the jamb of the doorway. Those artifacts one customarily associates with classrooms are also littered around, or kept neatly in their appointed places according to the tidiness of the teacher and boys. These are blackboard dusters, chalk, rulers, board compasses and other geometrical equipment, models used for demonstrating scientific principles, textbooks of all descriptions. A duality is at once apparent in the two types of artifacts, as there is in virtually every component in the school.

The meanings artifacts have for some boys can be inferred from their behaviours towards them. It is quite apparent that a diversity of meanings is in operation at one and the same time in any classroom. For instance, the *mezuzah* means something to those boys who touch it consistently when passing through the door, another thing to those who are inconsistent, and something else to boys who do not touch it at all. From the latter, we cannot infer that the *mezuzah* means nothing. Possibly, even for these, it has some meaning, but not sufficient nor of the kind to generate observable behaviours. For boys such as these the *mezuzah* might still stand as an omnipresent reminder of what they should observe as Orthodox Jews. The picture is further complicated by the great variations in the frequency of touching the *mezuzah*. On rare occasions a whole class could troop out, not one boy touching it. On other occasions, 50 per cent of the same class would observe this *mitzvah*.

Meanings attached to religious books could also be inferred from behaviours. Some boys treated them disrespectfully, while others accorded them obvious respect. What was an apparently meaningless

disorder to the outside observer concealed an order meaningful to the Jewish boy. A pile of religious books on my table, for instance, was so arranged that unknown to me no other book lay on top of *Chumash*, although it may lie on top of books of lower 'rank' such as Books of the Prophets (see *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 28, 3-10). This is a sign of respect for *Chumash*.

My unwitting transgression early in the year when I went to place one of my secular books on top of *Chumash* brought an explanation of the action's meaning from one of my form. Later in the year, the same absent-minded action produced a warning hiss '*Chumash*' from T———— and a mild reprof. From this it was quite clear that, having once been told the meaning of the action, I should now know and behave appropriately, i.e. as an Orthodox Jew should.

Meanings were seldom made so explicit. During a current affairs discussion in fourth form, talk veered to the wearing of the *yarmelkeh*. This was prompted by a photograph we had all seen in that morning's paper of the then Australian Prime Minister, a non-Jew, wearing one at an official Jewish dinner attended by prominent members of Melbourne's Jewry. The boys were contemptuously amused and caustic in their comments about what to them was a pretentious act. 'He doesn't know how to behave,' they said, i.e. that's not the meaning of wearing the *yarmelkeh*. 'But what about me wearing one or my hat?' I ventured to ask. 'That's different, you know what it means,' came the reply. Recalling the occasions in some fifth-form boys' homes during coaching sessions, when I had worn either a hat or a *yarmelkeh* only to sense the action was incorrect, I could not be entirely convinced by my form's assurance. I also remembered the time early on in research, when I had *not* worn a hat during a visit to my informant's home, and had been kindly told of my error. As an anthropologist I should have *known* what to do, my informant said.

We can see from the above not only that the countervailing curriculum involves the cultural constructions of meanings, but that these vary according to the logic of the situation in which the actions and artifacts are concerned. Moreover, like incidents described in the operation of the overt countervailing curriculum, it seems apparent that different systems of logic are being used to construct meanings. The logic of scientific knowledge, for instance, is not similar to

metaphysical logic. The diversion into a discussion about placing books on top of *Chumash*, prompted by its mere presence on the table as an inanimate component of the interaction setting, was initially generated by two systems of logic—the Orthodox boys' and mine. Our logics coincided when I knew what they knew and behaved accordingly, i.e. accepted for the time being their system of logic. My assumed knowledge of when and where to keep on my hat or wear a *yarmelkeh* might be interpreted in a similar way. I knew, according to my boys, because I had implicitly accepted the logic behind dressing this way. The Prime Minister may not have, and thus did not know.

During lessons where incidents such as the above occur, it is quite apparent that the boys are influenced by the countervailing curriculum. Not only are they learning knowledge that is potentially at odds with, and dysfunctional for, the academic curriculum, but its very logic is also being challenged. During the time when the diversion into Jewish matters obtains, the boys are learning in a context within which the Great Tradition is dominant. As Keddie has observed (1973 : 17),

> the learning of any 'logic' is a highly situated activity which cannot be treated as though it were context-free if it is to become part of the life-world of the learner and to be understood by him at all.

Symbolic media of communication in the environment

Most interaction settings within the school complex have material on display which relates to both traditions. In the fifth-form room, a large chart occupied part of the pin-board on the rear wall. Published by the Lubavitcher Movement, it lists in Hebrew and English the 39 labours forbidden on *Shabbos*. At the beginning of the Jewish year the Lubavitcher students drew up a chart in Hebrew showing the exact dates and times for daily prayers, the lighting of *Shabbos* candles and putting on *tephillin*, and added this to the board display. A diagram and detailed instructions showing the correct way to attach phylacteries also appeared. This was part of a *tephillin* campaign which was advertised in *The Australian Jewish News*, and supported by a 'pastoral' letter from the Lubavitcher Rebbe displayed prominently on a notice board in the foyer of the *shul*. Both pieces of advertising leave no doubt as to the directness of the message and the logic to which it adheres.

My own form room had religious posters on the display board.

Form 3 had none. Forms 1 and 2 had neatly printed cards in Hebrew and English, written by the boys, proclaiming maxims from the Talmud such as 'Speak little. Do a lot', 'Respect comes before learning'. Form 2 also had on display large charts depicting the founding of the Tabernacle by the Children of Israel in the wilderness, and, in diagrammatic form, the library of the books of the Law and divisions of Talmud. Display material also tended to change according to the approaching Festival. *Pesach* saw drawings of the *Seder* plate in Form 1. The *menorah* was drawn at *Chanukah*.

In stark contrast to these display materials, are those relating to the academic tradition and curriculum. They vary according to the lesson topic, but in due season are pinned up on the display board next to material of the Great Tradition. Tangible evidence of two logics and meanings are thus juxtaposed for all who care to look at it.

What meanings boys attach to such displays is uncertain. Certainly, for those boys who draw religious display material—mostly in the more junior forms and primary grades—it has a meaning or else they would not labour so industriously at the task. As most academic material is either commercially produced or developed by the teacher, similar work in this sphere for boys is limited. Yet striking contrasts can still be seen. At the height of the excitement over the moon landings, some boys in Form 1 took advantage of lessons meant for examination revision to draw both religious and secular pictures. Sketching of space ships proliferated, accompanied by earnest discussions about what Martians or other denizens of outer space might look like. Amidst this hubbub a couple of boys serenely blocked in the Hebrew symbols of another saying from the Talmud, *circa* third century C.E.

At the same time of the year in Form 2, the board contained a number of cards with sayings from the *Torah* and Talmud, written in English and Hebrew:

THE MORE TORAH STUDY, THE MORE LIFE.
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.
WHERE THERE IS NO TORAH, THERE IS NO BREAD.
WHERE THERE IS NO BREAD, THERE IS NO TORAH.
THE BASHFUL CANNOT LEARN.
WHO IS RICH? HE WHO IS CONTENT WITH HIS LOT.

Charts were also on display showing various biblical scenes including

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the marshalling of the Tribes of Israel around the Ark in the desert wilderness. In close proximity was a boy's drawing of the moon landing, and a large newspaper photograph of the same event depicting man's greatest scientific achievement—in a lunar wilderness.

Materials displayed elsewhere in the school campus usually refer specifically to the Great Tradition. They are 'pastoral' letters from the Lubavitcher Rebbe in English, Hebrew and Yiddish, *shul* notices, Lubavitcher Youth advertisements and the like. Where they are in English and even Hebrew, boys can make sense out of them and derive meanings. Those in Yiddish—commonly in a form of compressed code as in the Talmud, in which one phrase stands for a whole passage—are much less likely to have meaning for boys. Other communications, such as letters from the Chief Rabbi in Israel, or news items accompanied by photographs, are more likely to be meaningful.

Static display material of the type discussed is augmented by at least two other types of printed matter accessible to boys in interaction settings. One is the monthly religious pamphlet *Talks and Tales* published by *Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch* in New York, the official outlet for the Lubavitcher Movement. Many boys subscribe to it and, as one said when he saw me reading a copy, 'Are you interested in those? There are hundreds around the place'. The publication contains such aspects as commentaries from the Midrash, notes on religious rituals, moralistic stories, biographies of great figures in Judaism, and 'things to remember' relating to the current Festivals.

The other type of publication is the form papers run off on a spirit duplicator. These contain topical skits, cartoons, short religious homilies, Yiddish jokes, and examples of schoolboy humour often commenting on some happening in the school. Both English and Hebrew feature in articles. Several editions were produced by the third form during the year, and went the rounds of other forms, where they might be read surreptitiously during some religious and secular lessons. The third-formers were inordinately proud of what they had produced, and would noisily advertise the newspaper's availability during classwork.

Dualism of languages in symbolic media

An important feature of the great majority of religious material is

the two languages in which the whole or parts are printed. English and Hebrew commonly appear on the same sheet. In the case of the Lubavitcher Rebbe's letters English, Hebrew and Yiddish versions are available. Such juxtaposition of languages emphasizes in a quite fundamental way the duality of the learning experiences available to the boys. The development of logics and thought are determined by language, i.e. by the linguistic tools of thought, and by the symbolically-mediated socio-cultural experience of the child. Language is crucial in the construction of knowledge as Berger and Luckmann note (1971 : 85–6):

> Language objectivates the shared experiences and makes them available to all within the linguistic community, thus becoming both the basis and the instrument of the collective stock of knowledge. Furthermore, language provides the means for objectifying new experiences, allowing their incorporation into the already existing stock of knowledge, and it is the most important means by which the objectivated and objectified sedimentations are transmitted in the tradition of the collectivity in question.

We need only extend this view, by considering the plural languages present in interaction settings at the school, to appreciate that two sets of experiences are being objectivated (i.e. created as a reality common to members of a group), two stocks of knowledge augmented, and 'sedimentations' transmitted in two traditions. Indeed, two cultures are being mediated to the boys.

The influence of Hebrew as a countervailing curriculum can only be hypothesized. Suffice to say that it could be more than would occur if a child were learning English and another foreign language such as French. The connotations of Hebrew are many and varied. It is the Holy Tongue in which the Bible is written, 'the language spoken by the angels', as the rabbis say (*Hag.* 16a). It is the language of prayer and the official language of the State of Israel. At a more mundane level, it is the language used in the school during a great proportion of the time when the formal curriculum of the Great Tradition is being studied. Its alphabet, phonetic system, vocabulary, grammar, sentence, and word formation are all strikingly different from those of English. Even the mechanical tasks of writing and reading Hebrew are different—from right to left across the page, and from the 'back' of the book to the 'front'.

One effect of these mechanical differences is at once apparent when

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boys write in English. Their letter formation, general neatness, and legibility often compare unfavourably with the writing of same-age pupils in state and independent schools. Switching from one language style to another, in the short space of time allowed the boys at the school, may also involve a major adjustment in logical processes and the acquisition of meanings.

It is quite easy to watch this switch occur during lessons when junior boys are doing free work. Books in English are put away and Hebrew readers are taken out. Painstaking transcription of phrases and sentences into exercise books begins, slowly at first but speeding up as the boy gets into the cadence of the Hebrew. He reads through what he has written with evident pride, putting a finishing touch here and there in the script. Unconsciously he may begin to rock backwards and forwards, his lips moving as words are sounded *sotto voce*. The work is finished. If the book from which he has been copying is *Chumash*, the boy closes it carefully, may kiss it reverently, and puts it away. His whole manner changes subtly as he takes out a secular book, and 'returns' to the logic and behaviour of the English work, which he had put aside to enter the language-culture of the Hebrew.

Inarticulate experience as a countervailing influence

For those of his peers watching, such a boy is a countervailing influence by the very meanings his actions convey. There are many such in the school. Each provides role models through the inarticulate experience made available to others in interaction settings. We can identify those whose behavioural style is obviously influential to judge from the observable reactions of others.

A Lubavitcher student is the focus of others' expectations. When an apparently secular stimulus arises, such as my statement about the age of Silurian rocks, boys look across to him with the obvious, unspoken question about what he will do or say. He may, in fact, do or say nothing, but by his very presence boys' thoughts are turned from the secular work in progress to the potentially countervailing influence of Judaic and Lubavitcher ideology. It may be purely coincidental that a Lubavitcher student was placed in each of Forms 3 to 6, and was usually the role model to whom other boys tended to look. No better way of inculcating the ideology by indirect means could have been devised.

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The Rhythm of the Year

The effects of the dualism that is so apparent in Lubavitcher School are not confined to structural and curricular matters. The social organization of time and the ceremonial transmission of tradition also affect boys, through a dialectical interplay between the two calendars which govern their lives. Once again, the result is to heighten the problematical nature of boys' attempts to construct meaningful life-worlds. In addition, there is the paradox that some boys succeed very well in this task. This only serves to heighten the dilemmas facing those who are not so fortunate.

The two calendars operate on different cycles and stress different events. The calendar of the academic tradition deals with major secular matters—school terms, tests, vacations, dates of examinations, Speech Night. Each of these comes into its time, produces a brief scurry of activity and emotion, but finally passes into school history. The religious Festivals and other ceremonies of the Great Tradition reign for their prescribed periods, following a more ancient and immutable order. For each the pace of life in the school quickens, and far older rituals replace those of the secular calendar. Such, in essence, is the dialectical rhythm of the year.

The two calendars

At the beginning of each school year a printed circular to parents gives the major calendar for the year in Hebrew and English. It details the major religious Festivals and holidays associated with both traditions when the secular functions of the school are suspended. Other Festivals coincide with week-ends, and do not interrupt secular work; some occur during the week but are not sufficiently important to stop schooling.

In contrast to other independent schools, bank holidays are not taken, and thus do not appear on the calendar. For other holidays the state

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vacation sequence is followed, with just over a week's holiday at the end of the first and second terms, rather than the fortnight which is customary in the independent school system. To some extent the lost vacation time is made up by the days the school is closed for religious Festivals. However, the interplay between the two calendars means that time for secular schooling is still short despite the curtailed vacations. There is also a deficit due to the early closure of school on Fridays between *Pesach* and *Succos*—a period of six months—and the loss of two hours' teaching time before 11 o'clock each day.

In addition there is what can be termed a concealed deficit in teaching time, which occurs despite the fact that boys can attend secular classes. Each Festival is preceded by a euphoric build-up and tension when thoughts are not on work. Obligatory fasting, fatigue after all-night religious ceremonies and celebrations, and prohibitions on performing certain types of work on both the Festivals themselves and their intermediate days (Heb. *Chol Ha-moed*) all effectively reduce the boys' capacity to make the most of the available time in the secular calendar.

The dialectical interplay between the two calendars

The start of the secular year coincides with a quiet period in the religious calendar. Some four weeks after the beginning of first term, a ripple of anticipatory excitement in the school foreshadows the approaching Fast of Esther (*Adar* 13), lasting from sunrise to sunset. It occurs on the day before the Festival of *Purim*, which commemorates the deliverance of the Jews of the Persian Empire from extermination. The two-day event is traditionally marked by considerable rejoicing, exchanges of gifts and festivities, at which a certain degree of licensed intoxication is obligatory (Heb. *Adloyada*). This custom has arisen from the rabbinical injunction that on *Purim* a man should celebrate until he cannot distinguish between 'blessed be Mordecai' and 'cursed be Haman', the two main characters in the *Purim* story. *Shushan Purim* (*Adar* 15) is the day after the main Festival and shares many of its characteristics, although it is not taken as a formal holiday. It is also customary to be merry on *Shushan Purim* and to have festive meals.

Boys react to *Purim* by planning the parties and festivities that take

place in their homes and at school. They discuss the various gifts of sweets and confectionery (Heb. *michloa[illegible] manot*) they plan to send to friends, following tradition, and the money or food to be given to the poor (Heb. *mattanot la-evyonim*). There is considerable awed comment on the banquet (Heb. *seudah*) being planned by the rabbi: 'There will be tons and tons of food and lots to drink. We're allowed to get drunk at *Purim* you know.' Senior boys make thinly veiled, boastful claims about the amount of alcohol they intend to consume at this and other parties.

The day before *Purim* boys are fasting, but this does not greatly curb the mounting euphoria. School is let out early in the afternoon so boys can get ready for the Reading of the *Megillah* (Scroll of Esther) in the *shul* that evening. When I get there it is rapidly becoming crowded with members of the congregation and a large number of excited children. Women and girls assemble in the balcony and watch the bustle in the hall below. The Reading gets under way with a ragged start after preliminary prayers and Blessings. The officiating rabbi initially finds it hard to make progress in view of the excitement and noise generated by the children, who cannot wait to erupt into noise, by shouting, banging on pews or twirling rattles (Yidd. *groggers*) at each mention of the villain in the story, Haman. It takes the combined efforts of the bursar, adult males, and disapproving frowns and admonitions from rabbis congregated on the *bimah* before all settle down. Silence is not maintained for long. As soon as the reader gets near the name Haman, let alone when he mentions it, the children start their derisive uproar.

On *Purim* day itself the school has a holiday from secular work, but a second Reading of the *Megillah* occurs and boys are expected to attend. Afterwards, preparations get under way for a party at school. Little groups of kindergarten and primary school children wander around in fancy dress to take part in the masquerades and *Purim* plays that have been organized. Boys in their smart, best suits bustle around the place in some excitement. This is a day for relaxation and letting off steam, encouraged moreover by Judaic tradition. They intend to make the most of it.

Next day there are some weary headaches and upset stomachs. Boys recount the amount of food and drink they consumed, and comment

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on one or two conspicuous absences from class—boys who imbibed too well and unwisely. It is also *Shushan Purim* on this day, so many boys are dressed in their best clothes, and instead of the usual school caps or *yarmelkehs* wear smart trilby hats in class. They work in a desultory fashion. Some even ask to be excused work on the grounds that the day is *Chol Ha-moed*, but abandon this attempt when told to go to the rabbi for his permission. The general lethargic atmosphere of the school is not conducive to much work. When it is remembered that the whole Festival started with the Fast of Esther two days earlier, this is hardly surprising.

Ritual preparations for *Pesach*

Following *Purim* comes *Pesach*, the Festival of Passover, an eight-day holiday which occurs some 15 teaching days before first-term tests and examinations. Prior to this major Festival, there are many activities taking place in the school complex, in particular the baking of *matzos* (unleavened bread) during the preceding week-ends. The search for *hametz* (leaven) in classrooms takes place on the morning of the day the school breaks up for the holiday, and is the occasion for much industrious and squirrel-like activity particularly on the part of junior boys. They thoroughly clean out cupboards and desks in a search for the prohibited leaven. If found, it is taken to be destroyed. The room off the *shul* normally used by the sixth form becomes a storage place for cooking and domestic utensils deposited by members of the congregation in compliance with the strict laws of ritual purity which are in force during *Pesach* (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 111–116). Classes using that room and the library where *matzah* baking occurs have to find alternative accommodation.

The baking of *matzos* is an example of how strictly the *Halachah* is followed by the Orthodox congregation attached to the school. *Matzah* (pl. *matzos*) is the thin, flat, unleavened loaf some eight inches in diameter which has a central place in the *Seder*, and accompanies subsequent meals during the whole of *Pesach*. Strictly Orthodox Jews bake 'specially guarded *matzah*' (Heb. *Shmurah matzah*) from flour which is carefully supervised from the moment the wheat is harvested. Those who wish to can obtain supplies of *shmurah matzah* from the school complex, where baking takes place following the conclusion of

Shabbos on week-ends prior to *Pesach*.

All boys attending the school cannot help but be aware of this activity. The small red-brick building which normally functions as the school library is cleared of books and all other paraphernalia, and is then purified of *hametz*. A large wooden cover bolted against one wall is removed to reveal a baker's oven fired by a wood furnace. At the rear of the building, a temporary lean-to of timber and hardboard is erected to house the flour and water when baking is in process. Normally the former is kept in a small room leading off the library-bakery. It is ground from special grain which has been cut by an Orthodox Jew. The water must be kept cool. Well before the library is cleared for baking the flour must be carefully ground. On two occasions, my matriculation social studies classes in the library were interrupted briefly by the emergence of the baker, eyes red and his whole body covered in flour after a session of grinding. I was momentarily startled, although the boys took it in their stride.

Baking itself is a highly organized and ritualized process, carried out as quickly as possible so that the dough does not have a chance to ferment. A disciplined team of Lubavitcher rabbis, women, pupils from the school, other rabbis and the *shochet* was involved the day I went to watch. Two Lubavitcher rabbis were kneading dough in a metal pan on a small table in the shelter. From there it was immediately passed through a window to a group of women at a large table where it was rapidly divided into portions, and rolled into thin 'pancakes' about eight inches in diameter by the use of smooth wooden rollers some eighteen inches long. Equally quickly, the 'pancake' was impressed with small holes by boys using spiked metal rollers or a single spiked metal wheel. Each portion of flat dough was draped over the end of a twelve-foot-long wooden pole and handed to the baker, who pushed it into the oven, and with a dexterous twist flipped the 'pancake' onto the hotplate. Baking took about a minute in the intense heat, then the *matzah* was removed by a long-handled metal spatula and placed on a nearby table to cool.

Speed and ritual cleanliness were of paramount importance to prevent the dough from fermenting or becoming contaminated by *hametz*. Many poles and rollers were used in relays. After several uses the latter were taken outside to the nearby wash troughs and meticu-

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lously cleaned, as they had to be free from any adhering dough. A team of boys and men was involved in this operation, using sandpaper to rub down the rollers. This was closely supervised by the *shochet*, with the function here of ensuring the ritual purity of the food. Periodically, all had to wash their hands at the troughs.

The overwhelming impression was of orderly disciplined bustle, quiet excitement, and children darting around all over the place obviously sharing in, and thoroughly enjoying, the atmosphere. Yet no sign of all this industry remained on the following Monday, except for the shelter at the rear of the building and the heat still radiating from the chimney built against the wall.

Activities during *Pesach* and the following weeks

The day before the school recesses for *Pesach* considerable euphoria builds up, accentuated by the several ritual preparations relating to the search for *hametz*. The first two and last two days of *Pesach* are considered holy days: all work on them is prohibited. Special dietary laws also apply for the duration of the Festival (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*). The intervening days are not entirely a holiday, but constitute a period of *Chol Ha-moed* during which some academic work can be undertaken, provided it is not enjoyable (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 104 : 19 22).

Not all activities are so constrained. On the first Sunday, Lubavitcher Youth organizes a reunion for those who attended the summer camp back in the long vacation. The event is held at a small tourist resort in a range of hills to the east of Melbourne. A *kosher* restaurant and hotel are located there, and it is not uncommon to be walking in the surrounding woods and meet Jewish families, dressed in their Sabbath best, striding along the path, heartily singing traditional Jewish melodies or Israeli folk songs.

The reunion is advertised by Lubavitcher Youth by a multicoloured, cyclostyled sheet which is circulated to all the boys. It combines schoolboy humour with some features that reflect some of the hidden aspects of being a Jewish boy at such a time. For instance, a cartoon on the sheet shows a train puffing along a railway line, with a Jewish boy, complete with *yarmelkeh*, clinging wildly to the last carriage. Further along the track another boy (with *yarmelkeh*) and a science-fiction fantasy figure prepare to dynamite the track. These are only

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incidentals in a sheet which nevertheless contains two or three interesting features. Prominence is given to the phrase FEEL LIKE LETTING OFF A LITTLE STEAM? and the Jewish abbreviation for *Barukh Ha-Shem* (Heb.—Blessed be the Name, i.e. of God) occurs at the top *and* the bottom of the page. Reliance on divine protection for a safe return seems implied.

From the second day of *Pesach* begins the *Sefirah*, Counting of the Omer, usually incorporated into the Evening Service (*Maariv*), after an appropriate blessing.[1] It is followed by a prayer for the restoration of the Temple. The first 32 days of the *Sefirah* constitute a period of semi-mourning and sadness.[2] During it, merriment, having one's hair cut and the wearing of new clothes are all forbidden. The ban is lifted on the thirty-third day at the minor Festival of *Lag Ba-Omer*. During this day at school, numerous boys request permission to go for a haircut. Some ask to be excused from work to do so.

The *Sefirah* continues for a full seven weeks (49 days). The fiftieth day sees the start of *Shavuot*, the Festival of Weeks (Pentecost).[3] During the evening and night before *Shavuot* (*Erev Shavuot*), an all-night service is conducted in the synagogue, the *Tikkun Leil Shavuot* (*Tikkun* for the eve of *Shavuot*). This includes extracts from *Chumash* and Talmud, with related interpretative commentaries and mystic literature.[4] Prayers, recitations and liturgical poems dealing with the 613 Precepts, or Commandaments of Moses, form part of the all-night service.

Proceedings start with a party and games organized by Lubavitcher Youth for younger boys and girls. A duplicated circular advertises the event, which goes on until later in the evening when senior boys escort the younger children home, and return to the synagogue to take part in *Shavuot-lerner* circles on a variety of topics. These go from about 9 p.m. to 2 a.m., and bring out the function of the synagogue as a

1. *Omer*—sheaf cut in the barley harvest; a measure of barley offered in the Temple during biblical times (Lev. 23 · 10–14).
2. The notion that this period involves an element of mourning is based on a Talmudic reference to the plague that killed 24 000 disciples of Rabbi Akiva (*Yevamot* 62b).
3. The alternative Mishnaic name *Atzeret*, (Heb.)—'Termination', for *Shavuot* signifies that the counting has been completed.
4. Midrash and *Zohar*. *Tikkun* (Heb.)—Order of service for special occasions mostly recited at night.

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place in which to learn, hence its alternative colloquial name *shul*. The *Shavuot-lerner* circles are conducted in a mixture of Yiddish, Hebrew and English which effectively precluded my attendance. 'You wouldn't possibly be able to understand anything—pointless you coming' was the defensive rejoinder from a Jewish staff member when I inquired about the possibility. The night ends with *Shacharis*, prayed early in the morning; then the boys go home to sleep.

The events of the second term—a quiescent period

In contrast to first term, with its abundance of Festivals and religious observances, second term is relatively free, and long periods of unbroken secular teaching are possible. The Fast of *Tammuz* (*Tammuz* 12)[5] takes place in July and marks the beginning of the annual Three Weeks of Mourning. During these all festivities and haircuts are forbidden. The Three Weeks ends on *Tisha B'Av*, Ninth of *Av*, which is a Day of Mourning when the school is closed. It is observed as a fast which, like *Yom Kippur*, starts at nightfall and lasts for 24 hours.

The special Liturgy for the day includes the recital of *kinot* or dirges, and readings from the Book of Lamentations. *Tisha B'Av* commemorates not only all the historical disasters to the Jewish people, which have reputedly occurred on that date, but all the tragic events in which Jewish history abounds. To mark the special sadness of the day lights are replaced by candles in the *shul*, and the normal pews are rearranged by the caretaker to permit members of the congregation to sit on the floor or low benches as a sign of mourning.

Secular teaching at this time is suspended while the school is closed, but resumes immediately afterwards for an unbroken three weeks or so, culminating in second term tests or examinations. The week's vacation that follows provides a much needed break for all, as this winter term is typically the most taxing on health and energy. As soon as third term commences after the vacation, the introduction of *Selichot* or penitential hymns into the Liturgy of the *Shabbos* before *Rosh Hashanah* heralds the approach of that Festival and the peak of

5. The date commemorating the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E. and by Titus in 70 C.E.

the year's religious life which lasts for the whole of the ensuing month, *Tishrei*.

Due to the arrangement of the Jewish calendar, *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*, with which it is inextricably connected, thus occur three quarters of the way through the academic year in the ninth and tenth months of the Common Era calendar. In the Jewish calendar, however, *Rosh Hashanah* marks the first two days of the first month (*Tishrei*) and inaugurates the cycle of religious activities that are to follow. It commences the Ten Days of Penitence during which the Fast of Gedaliah occurs on *Tishrei* 3. The period of solemnity of the Ten Days of Penitence reaches a climax of emotional and spiritual endeavour on The Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippur*), the most solemn day in the Jewish calendar.

The whole period is very demanding both psychologically and physically. On both *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* abstention from work is obligatory, as it is on every Sabbath. In this respect *Yom Kippur*, the 'Sabbath of Sabbaths' is subject to the same prohibitions. It is also strictly observed as a 24-hour fast based on the biblical injunction 'ye shall afflict your souls' (Lev. 23 : 27). It lasts from the evening before the Day of Atonement proper (*Erev Yom Kippur* or *Kol Nidrei*) until the following evening. A further abstention among the strictly observant is from wearing leather shoes.[6] Many members of the congregation take their shoes off on entering the synagogue, or wear tennis shoes. The ultra-Orthodox reputedly wear them on the wrong feet and devise other ways to increase the degree of affliction.

Tishrei continues to be rich in religious activities. At the completion of *Yom Kippur*—even just before breaking the fast in the case of the pious—it is a worthy activity to start building the ritual booth (Heb. *succah*), which features during *Succos*, the Festival of Tabernacles starting on *Tishrei* 15. The intermediate (third to seventh) days of this Festival constitute a period of *Chol Ha-moed* and, like the same period in *Pesach*, are treated as a combination of week-day and Festival (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 104 : 19–22). The seventh day of

6. One of 'five mortifications' featured on the day. The others are: abstention from (1) food, (2) drink, (3) marital intercourse, and (4) anointing with oil. Strictly, the fast is 25 hours.

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Succos is *Hoshana Rabbah*, falling during a week-day. For the pious, this day involves an all-night vigil (*Tikkun Leil Hoshana Rabbah*) in which the Liturgy includes readings from the Book of Deuteronomy, Psalms and passages from the *Zohar*. The last two days of the Festival are marked by *Shemini Atzeret* (Eighth Day of Assembly) and *Simchas Torah* (Rejoicing of the Law). The latter celebrates the custom of completing the reading of the Pentateuch and its immediate commencement with synagogue ceremonies in which the accent is on joy, feasting with some licensed intoxication, dancing and song.

Clashes with secular activities during *Tishrei*

It is most obvious that *Tishrei* occupies a position of great prominence in the Jewish calendar and is a very busy period in religious matters. However, it is precisely this time of the academic year that is of critical importance for the fifth and sixth forms. The 'October Tests' organized by the Incorporated Association of Registered Teachers of Victoria (IARTV) are traditionally held during the last week of September and first week of October. The dates are fixed so that all schools taking the tests do so at the same time to avoid possible leakage of the questions to schools which may have to take these tests at other times. IARTV regulations to this effect are quite stringent. A period of demanding academic endeavour thus closely follows, or actually coincides with, a period of intense and demanding religious activity. For these forms, the former is the prelude to the true academic climax of the year which occurs a month and a half later in mid-November when the Leaving and Higher School Certificate examinations of the Victorian Universities and Schools Examinations Board (VUSEB) start. Lower forms are spared these October Tests, but they too face final year examinations.

For all boys, the month of *Tishrei* is the acme of their religious life. For the young Chassid the whole month is one of strict devotion, fasting, euphoric participation in ceremonial, with what little time is left over given to secular work. For the average Orthodox boy the month is quantitatively little different, as he participates in the same ceremonies. Only the intensity of participation, and ritual observances such as fasting and abstinence from work vary. There is a basically similar pattern of periods of secular school work broken by the Sabbath

or the Festivals in this month. Religious study continues unabated, however, but varies in length because time is taken up by extra religious ceremonial. Recreation is foregone entirely when the High Holy Days occur. Secular homework is also abandoned on these occasions and over the Sabbath.

The allocation of time during *Tishrei* is illustrated by the following diagram, and it is at once apparent that there is a subtle, dialectical interplay between the component activities. The month starts with the two days of *Rosh Hashanah*. No recreation nor secular work of any description are undertaken, nearly all waking time being given to religious observances and religious studies. On *Tishrei* 3 secular work recommences, but coincides with the Fast of Gedaliah. Religious observances and religious study assume their week-day pattern, and secular homework takes up a sizeable proportion of time. Recreation time is minimal in this period.

The Sabbath and week-end follow on *Tishrei* 8, marked by a cessation of secular work and increase in religious observances, religious study and time available for recreation. *Yom Kippur* stands out on *Tishrei* 10. All day is taken up with religious observances and religious study. Secular work and recreation are both forbidden, as is eating for the 24 hours. The previous day (*Tishrei* 9) sees a marked increase in time given to eating, as it is mandatory and a *mitzvah* to eat a good meal on the eve of *Kol Nidrei*, the first of five Services on *Yom Kippur* (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 131 : 3).

Secular work starts again after this High Holy Day, and religious activities resume their familiar pattern. Four days are available for secular studies before the next peak of religious activity starts with the onset of *Succos*, marked by a complete cessation of secular work of all types. Recreation time is increased as this Festival lacks the stringent prohibitions evident on *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*. The ergograph does not indicate that the type of work done during the subsequent days of *Succos* (*Chol Ha-moed*) at school may not be of the normal type for some strictly observant boys.

On the seventh day of *Succos*, *Hoshana Rabbah* occurs. This is a week-day and, for some, involves the all-night vigil in the *shul*, with special Liturgy and religious studies. The increase in the latter is evident in the diagram. Immediately following *Hoshana Rabbah* is *Shemini*

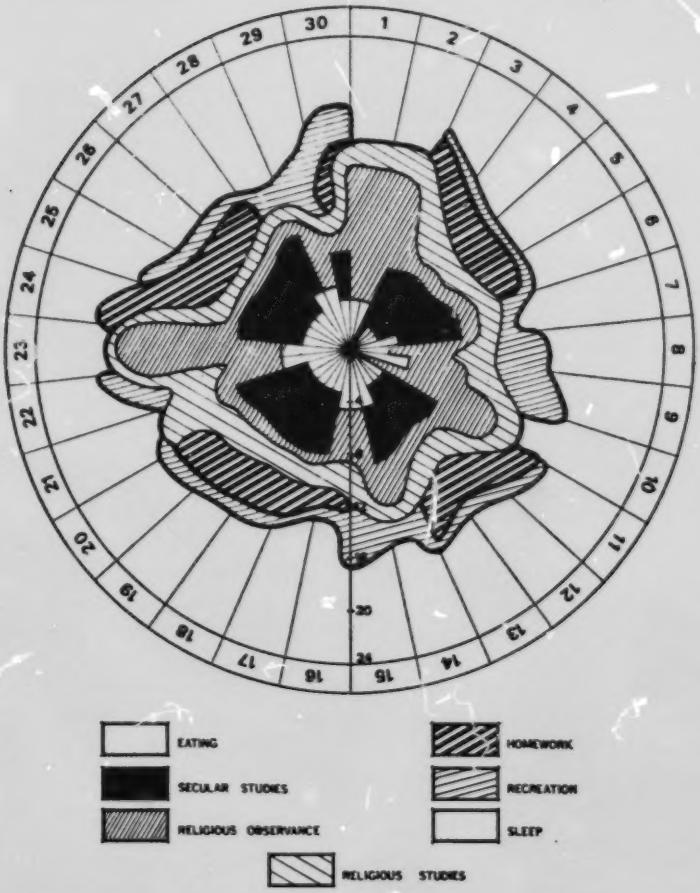

Figure 3. Ergograph showing an Orthodox boy's allocation of time during Tishrei

Atzeret coinciding with the Sabbath, with an obvious increase in religious activity reaching a climax on *Simchas Torah*, The Rejoicing of the Law. The euphoric observances and small amount of study take up all the time, so that even recreation is diminished, although its place is taken by the celebrations and festivities that accompany this Festival. It is protracted well into the night, with an apparent increase in eating and reduction in sleep—the amount available being the least for the whole of *Tishrei*.

After this peak of religious observance, both religious and secular work resume an even tenor for the remainder of the month. The customary break for the Sabbath occurs, and secular school and homework cease, but are resumed on the Sunday. In this case, special classes are arranged to make up on the lost time due to the amount of religious activity in the preceding weeks. Religious studies still take place, and there is an increase in the time given to recreation. *Tishrei* gives place to the following month of *Cheshvan*. Although the dialectical interplay between the components of a boy's life continues, it is never as pronounced as during *Tishrei*.

The emotional impact of *Tishrei*

Tishrei is the month when the cathectic quality of Orthodox life is at its most dynamic. Boys' reactions can be gauged from their behaviours, passing remarks, looks, and what information they divulge during secular lessons or at other times of the day. As a part of the total field situation, the observer is also affected by the cathectic quality of events, and must constantly monitor his reactions to maintain what objectivity is possible in the highly charged setting of the school complex. One way of preserving objectivity is to both record events descriptively, and allow boys to speak for themselves. The blend of ethnography and anecdote conveys a picture that is humanistic and the closest one can get to the boys' 'logic-in-use'.

The cathectic build up for Rosh Hashanah

During the two or three weeks before *Rosh Hashanah*, there is a gradual development of excitement and tension among the boys. One notes an increase in swaying and crooning while boys are at work. The young Chassid is nervy and highly tuned. His peers are less affected,

but all display an air of expectancy and, as the days pass, mounting euphoria, which are dysfunctional for secular work.

Tangible reminders of the approaching Festival occur when boys are able to practice on an available *shophar*, which is blown at services during the whole period of the High Holy Days. It is heard in the *shul* during *Shacharis* on all days prior to *Rosh Hashanah*, with the exception of the Sabbath and the day immediately before *Rosh Hashanah* itself. The three types of sounds and blasts—*shevarim*, *teruah*, *tekiah*—are a challenge to boys, who try the *shophar*, or blow on bits of grass held between their hands. The complex rhythms of the sounds provoke heated arguments, and groups of boys congregate to draw diagrams on the blackboard in a form of morse code to illustrate the staccato blasts of *shevarim*, the sobbing note of *teruah*, and the single drawn out note of *tekiah* (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 129 : 13).

Boys' comments and remarks frequently turn to the approaching days, and information comes unsolicited. The rabbi is resting his throat and only speaks in whispers as he will be doing most praying in the *shul*. He will need all his voice. Many will come just to hear him pray. Seats in the *shul* would be very difficult to get. They had indeed sold out weeks before, as I discovered when I inquired about the possibility of obtaining one. Like scores of others I stood in the press of worshippers at the back of the *shul* on both *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*.

On the day before *Rosh Hashanah* work is clearly impossible. In any case, lessons finish at 1 p.m. Fleeting encounters with boys one knows lead to handshakes, and the exchange of greetings and best wishes that are almost obligatory among *Ashkenazim: Hag Sameah* (Heb.)—'joyful Festival'; *Gut Yomtov* (Yidd.)—'happy holiday'. One boy formally asks me to forgive him for anything he might have done to harm me throughout the year. He explains that it is important to obtain my forgiveness and to forgive others' bad ways at *Rosh Hashanah*.

For the sixth form, work is also impossible, and they say so firmly. All four boys in my class rock backwards and forwards monotonously, and there is a feeling of barely suppressed tension in the group. R——, a young Chassid, is almost electrically charged. At one point he can contain himself no longer, jumps to his feet, and paces quickly to and

fro gesticulating and talking vehemently. I should not mind their behaviour and state, it was after all *Rosh Hashanah*, he said. Did I know that during the afternoon devout men and *barmitzvah* boys would be going to the *mikveh* in the neighbourhood as was their custom before important Festivals. The rabbinical students go to the *mikveh* regularly, often once each week just before *Shabbos*. It is a great *mitzvah*. Wherever there are Jews there should be three things: a *shul*, a *mikveh*, and a Jewish school. Of these three the *mikveh* is the most sacred and important. The rabbis even held that it was permissible to sell a synagogue to build a *mikveh*. Not for the first time I get the feeling of being transported back in time to the Eastern European *shtetl*, where the *mitzvah* of the weekly visit to the *mikveh* was obligatory (Zborowski & Herzog, 1952 : 41).

The mature way the information was imparted to me was in direct contrast to previous references to the *mikveh* I had heard during the year. On these occasions it seemed almost a matter for joking. Lakes on geography maps would be called *mikvehs* by fourth form boys, a dam passed by bus during a geography excursion provokes a quick injunction from some boys to look at the *mikveh*. Heavy rain that causes the playground to flood badly prompts one junior boy's quip that if it continued the school would soon have its own *mikveh*. Such ambivalence might suggest that the *mikveh* and, for adolescent boys, its potentially embarrassing association with the intimacies of female menstrual hygiene produce a defensive reaction, shown through the tension releasing mechanism of a joke.

However, many other aspects of religious life that one might expect to be treated deferentially provoke similar joking references. The sound of a boy energetically blowing his nose some weeks prior to *Rosh Hashanah* draws the barbed comment in second form: 'It's not yet *Rosh Hashanah*, you know'. Boys chase noisily through the *shul* despite the *ner tamid* and its symbolic reference to God's presence. The chatter and gossip during Sabbath services contrast with the devotion one might expect in the *shul*. One might have here only further examples of the familiar believed-in and statistical norms dichotomy referred to by Nadel (1951 : 116). Alternatively it might well reflect the ethos of the school complex. As Wouk has commented (1965 : 107), 'Religion for the Jews is intimate and colloquial, or it is nothing'. Intimacy

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certainly extended to our interpersonal relationships on that day before *Rosh Hashanah*. Work clearly was impossible, and the class disbanded early. We all shook hands and wished each other *Gut Yontov*. On his way through the *shul* each of the boys shook hands with the rabbi supervising a group of boys in the foyer and with the Principal, and gave similar greetings.

As we left, excitement and bustle continued to crackle through the *shul*, which echoed with comings and goings, greetings and exclamations of the group of boys assisting the rabbi. They were putting new electric light bulbs in an elaborate, glass-covered panel in the foyer. This commemorates the deaths of members of the congregation in Australia and Europe. Normally the little light opposite a name is switched on for the anniversary of the death (Yidd.—*Yahrzeit*). During the High Holy Days all the lights are switched on. The number of dates falling between 1936 and 1945 is a sombre reminder of the holocaust that befell European Jewry and reached out to touch this *shul* as it did all others. History is never far away, whether it be biblical or more recent.

Tension release after Rosh Hashanah

The few days after *Rosh Hashanah* are marked by a psychological and physiological letdown, compounded on the first day by fasting during the Fast of Gedaliah (*Tishrei* 3). Boys are lethargic, but can still raise enough energy to boast about the length of time they have been able to hold out. Everybody knows who is fasting and who is not. Those who manage to last the distance make derisive comments at others who have given up.

It is a matter of pride among the young Lubavitchers from the *Yeshivah Gedolah* to be more ascetic than anybody else, but this inevitably takes its toll. By 4.15 p.m. most boys are still fasting in Form 5, but one young Chassid is obviously very tired, and has great difficulty concentrating. Periodically he falls asleep sitting upright with his head on his hand. Finally he gives up the battle, pillows his head in his arms and goes right off to sleep. Although some boys admit they have given up fasting they still look jaded. The aftermath of *Rosh Hashanah* leaves them stunned into inactivity. Other boys in the sixth form are faring similarly. Some hold out; others give in and get some food.

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In fourth form, all boys are fasting except C———— who is embarrassed at the others' jokes. Many are obviously tired and languid. U———— looks very pallid, but assures me that he is all right and will hold out as he has done it before. The young Chassid chips in from across the room with his customary assurance: 'It's not hard to fast if you put your mind to it. It's all a matter of willpower.' He has a steely, determined glitter in his eyes—if anybody cracks it will not be him. His comment and manner are virtually identical to the young Chassid in fifth form, although he has succumbed to sleep. The rubbish bin in the fourth form classroom is completely empty: on other days it is half full with scraps and lunch wrappings.

Other fasts during the year had produced a similar variation in boys' reactions. *Tisha B'Av* is the most severe as it lasts for 24 hours, and the effects are clearly apparent in the lethargy and pallid looks of the boys. For the strictly observant, the fast is compounded by sheer weariness from staying awake all night in the *shul*. Any demanding work is out of the question as it is manifestly ineffectual. A similar effect results for those many senior boys who stay up all night for *Hoshana Rabbah*, but are still faced with major examinations on the following day.

The general effect of fasting, apart from its obvious physiological consequences, is to produce a kind of corporate solidarity among those who manage to hold out. This becomes a tradition on *Yom Kippur*, during which it is customary to find out who is holding and who has given up. Generally the boys refer to the need to fast with phlegmatic acceptance, even though it is clearly dysfunctional for secular work. Fasting is probably the most dramatic example of the dialectical interplay between the two calendars. For this reason it should be kept in proportion and not given undue prominence, as the occasions when the boys are required to fast are relatively infrequent.

Far more common are those days during periods of *Chol Ha-moed* when full work is forbidden, and boys conform to the religious prohibition genuinely, or use it as an excuse to avoid work. It is not easy to detect the latter. Junior and middle school forms were quick to try me out during the intermediate days of *Succos*, but were easily deterred from pressing the issue when I asked them to confirm the restriction they claimed should be put on work by going to the rabbi.

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Some senior boys treat *Chol Ha-moed* more seriously, and are quite prepared to go to the rabbi for a ruling. The reason they do so is not necessarily to dodge work, but to keep the day in accordance with *Halachah*. There is often ambivalence over what can and cannot be done. On the seventh day of *Succos*, for instance, boys in my form were asked to write down the names of two others with whom they wanted to work on a geography project. Three boys and the young Chassid could not write such a thing due to *Chol Ha-moed*, they said, and dictated their answers to friends, who wrote for them.

The cathectic build up for Succos and Simchas Torah

Following the short break for *Yom Kippur*, which again leaves boys tired and lethargic, the build-up of cathectic tension starts for *Succos* and its culmination in *Simchas Torah*. *Succos* involves boys in a practical way, which parallels their involvement with the symbolism of the *shophar* prior to *Rosh Hashanah*. Immediately after *Yom Kippur* they start building the communal *succah* in the kindergarten patio from large quantities of palm fronds and cypress branches delivered the previous week-end (Plate 10). These are laid over a trellis of timber and wooden battens already erected by the caretaker, who is assisted by students from the Rabbinical College and some of the fifth and sixth form boys. Some fourth form boys are able to obtain the Principal's permission to spend the majority of their secular class time working on the *succah* (Plate 11). During the lunch-time and other recesses they are watched by interested boys offering gratuitous advice and comments. The work continues during the week assisted by teams of middle school and some junior boys, who climb over the thickening thatch like squirrels busily adding extra material or spreading it around to ensure an even covering, according to the detailed rules for construction (*Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 134).

Obtaining palm branches is a complicated business if one sticks to the strict letter of the *Halachah*, as a Jew should not cut the boughs for the *succah* himself but should purchase them from a non-Jew (ibid., 134 : 10). Lubavitcher Youth sets up a service during this period to obtain palms from Local Government Councils. The palms are sold to members of the congregation or other Orthodox Jews for 35 cents a branch. Orders are telephoned through the *Yeshivah Gedolah* or the

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school office. The enterprise is handled with aplomb and business skill by a boy from fifth form, who is a member of the Lubavitcher Youth. He copes with shortage of branches, misplaced deliveries, and late orders with calm assurance which collapses only once on *Erev Succos* when some customers ring up with the complaint: 'Tomorrow is *yomtov* and still no palms, what shall I do?' Even these crises are solved somehow, but meanwhile the boy and others helping him are absent from secular classes.

Other boys are engaged in commercial transactions involving religious artifacts. Two members of the Lubavitcher Youth in fourth form spend lesson time industriously weaving little palm leaf holders, which keep together the ends of the bunches of willow and myrtle 'waved' during services of *Succos*. After a week of use the original willows are bedraggled and members of the congregation need new ones for *Hoshana Rabbah*, the seventh day of *Succos*. Lubavitcher Youth swings into operation again to get more willow and myrtle for sale to members of the congregation, and net more money for their enterprise.

Usually boys are not allowed to leave the school during the day-time unless they have special permission. However, during this period, a roster of senior boys is formed to man the mobile *succah*, which is towed around schools approved by the Jewish Education Board so that Jewish children can experience the fun and symbolism of eating a simple meal in the *succah*, waving the four species, and praying together (Plate 12). This enterprise is manned by Rabbinical College students and young Lubavitcher rabbis. When not in use, the mobile *succah* is either parked outside the school, or kept at the Rabbinical College hostel.

Junior boys not directly involved in the preparations for *Succos* are indirectly affected. For instance, third form boys covertly draw maps showing their own homes and the location of their own *succahs*. Maps are exchanged so that friends can visit each other as is the traditional custom to see how well the *succah* is built and decorated. The rabbi's personal *succah* comes in for considerable comment, as it is apparently one of the most magnificent in the congregation. Following Scripture, the rabbi would sleep, study and take meals in it during *Succos*. After the Evening Service on *Erev Succos* he would be holding

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a *farbrengen* to which those who come bring food and drink: a striking example of the continuity of Chassidic tradition.[7] I am asked by one cheeky boy whether I have my own *succah*. My negative reply and expressed hope to get an invitation to one brings barely concealed grins. Glances shoot from boy to boy with the scarcely veiled, unspoken comment: '*Oi veh*, that *he* should be so lucky.'

As with *Purim* early in the year, *Succos* and its culmination in *Simchas Torah* are associated in the boys minds with fun, feasting and rejoicing. Days leading up to the latter are alive with gossip about the ritual celebrations and merry-making which take place. Food and drink are provided in the dining hall next to the *shul*. The Service involves Readings of the Law and following *hakkaphot*, and after it, all go to have a drink and snack in the dining hall. Joyful dancing, especially the euphoric Chassidic round dance, takes place later in the *shul*, and celebrations go on virtually all night. Some boys follow the traditional custom of walking to other *shuls* to join in their celebrations and 'liven things up a bit'.

The night can also involve an element of risk during the walks from assault by *goyim* youths and non-observant young Jews out looking for trouble. Boys from the school keep together in groups on their inter-*shul* travels, but are not averse to 'mixing it' with those who come to provoke trouble, as indeed occurred at one *shul* near the school. Boys express their feelings about the events of *Simchas Torah*, as they do for *Purim*. Both are rare opportunities for licensed catharsis and 'letting off steam'.

Tension release after Simchas Torah

The day following *Simchas Torah* sees a very jaded, but still jubilant, group of boys. Escapades are recounted with pride. The first *minyan* had gone on in the *shul* until past midnight, followed by more round dancing and a special *minyan* for Lubavitcher Youth which had lasted until 3 a.m. All the fifth form boys look exhausted. The young Chassid cannot speak so hoarse is he from singing. He also limps badly as he is footsore from dancing and walking an estimated 15 miles from *shul* to *shul*. His thighs ache from doing the traditional Cossack-type

7. Lev. 23 : 42—'In booths ye shall dwell seven days'. See also *Kitzur Schulchan Aruch*, 135 : 1–22.

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squatting dance in the *shul*, an interesting blend of biblical and Eastern European traditions. I meet the rabbi later in the day. He too looks jaded, but is nevertheless quietly elated: it has been a good *Simchas Torah*. Another of the rabbis looks less than his normal bustling self, and walks rather more slowly. At 10 o'clock the previous evening, I had seen him doing the Cossack dance in the foyer of the *shul*, surrounded by an admiring group of men clapping in time to the rhythm.

Boys spend most of their lesson time discussing escapades, and secular work is very difficult to maintain. My own visits to *shuls*, dancing in the circle, and meal in the *succah* of the parents of one of my boys all come in for comment, as the grape-vine ensures that nothing is kept quiet for long. In consequence, I am subjected to good-natured banter especially as I am also obviously jaded. 'How did you like the *succah*? What do you think of Israeli brandy, good, eh? Now vodka, that's a drink. *We* have it a lot. Many of our parents come from Russia and Poland, you know. *We* know how to handle it.' All this is said boastfully, and with evident glee that my relatively modest participation in *Simchas Torah* has left me under the weather. The inflection given to the 'we' is unmistakably one of superiority.

The emotional impact of the final examinations

The month of *Tishrei* is dysfunctional for secular work but, despite the many religious activities taking place, study does continue, and in the weeks following *Succos* the pressure on fifth and sixth form boys mounts as the main examinations get closer. There is a marked increase in swaying and crooning when boys are studying individually, or revising for examinations due in a few days time. Even during the examinations held at the school, rocking backwards and forwards while reading through the examination paper is pronounced. There is also an increase in the use of the Hebrew abbreviation for *Barukh Ha-Shem* in the top right-hand corner of written work, and some boys write it on examination papers. God is also invoked by at least one boy, who informs me that he is praying particularly hard in order to do well in the matriculation examination.

As the climax of the academic year approaches, there is an obvious increase in tension. Boys are edgy, walking and talking more jerkily

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then at any time during the year. Control snaps easily, and both verbal and physical aggression are frequent. Boys display marked anxiety about their chances in the examinations, and badger masters incessantly for tips about likely questions on examination papers. They even discuss the advantages of putting *Barukh Ha-Shem* at the top of the external papers in the hope of influencing any Jewish examiner who might get them to correct. From anxiety and depression they swing quickly to euphoria, and come bouncing into class in high fettle because they imagine they have just learned from one master the questions he is setting, or have heard something through the grape-vine.

Effects on religious commitment

During the period leading up to the final examinations, boys' religious commitment is tested to the full. There is some slight fall in attendance at the compulsory Morning Service, and even voluntary absences from the period of religious study that follows it. This decision is not one to be taken lightly, as such absences are noted and the Principal informed. One senior boy, noted for his religious beliefs, put the matter in a nutshell. He could be a religious Jew for the rest of his life, but had only one chance to pass the matriculation examination.

The clash with religious activities provoked the sixth form students into taking what was an unprecedented step, by sending a deputation to the Principal two months before the final examinations. They asked that their religious studies should be reduced for the remainder of the year to enable them to devote more time to secular work. The boys suggested that two hours per week would be sufficient, in place of the two and a half hours per day. No request was made to reduce the time devoted to Hebrew. The deputation was only received by the Principal when one of the visiting teaching rabbis supported it in principle, having apparently been talked round to the boys' point of view by his son. Other boys were less successful. My social studies class spent all one lesson going over all the points in their case, trying without success to persuade one of their number around to their point of view. However, he remained implacably opposed to any change in Judaic tradition. The same attitude was adopted by the Principal, and no concessions were gained.

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Tension release and the period after examinations

The aftermath of examinations held at the school is a tense period until all marks are given to the boys, and minutely dissected to squeeze the last mark or two out of the papers. The academic battle may be over, but the war has not been won until negotiations over marks are completed. Then the boys relax. Some occupy time making candles for the approaching *Chanukah*. For this they are allowed into the Jewish culture island around the school to obtain supplies of specially purified beeswax, which they melt and shape in one of the laboratories. Many read and indolently pretend to study. There is very little tension, and conflict, aggression and anxiety are all at their lowest. Some boys are busy preparing items for Speech Night under the direction of a master. A small group of junior boys is engaged in drawing pictures of the *menorah*, which they pin up on the display boards in the classroom.

Another unprecedented event occurred when the matriculation students returned from their last examination and erupted in a student rag. They ran screaming through classrooms, thoroughly wrecking the first form room, and went about the rest of the campus overturning furniture, kicking in doors, and generally creating mayhem. One of the boys, who had expressed his doubts about his religious commitment in a discussion with me during *Rosh Hashanah* was almost berserk, and had to be forcibly restrained by some of his friends. The rabbinical students were attracted out of the *Yeshivah Gedolah* by the row, and crowded around the kindergarten watching the rumpus, partly amused and partly scandalized, to judge from their expressions. In some 15 years of public school rags, I had not seen anything like the intensity of this demonstration. It was finally quelled with some difficulty by concerted action on the part of all the senior masters.

After this abrupt tension release, Speech Night was virtually an anti-climax. Came the last day of school, and I still had not given the young Chassid his report. Unlike the other boys, he had not bothered to collect it. I found him eventually in the *Yeshivah Gedolah*, with a number of rabbinical students and senior boys from my classes. Earnest discussion groups were located all round the room (Plate 13). Heads barely lifted when I entered, and even boys I knew well failed to greet

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me as used to be customary. I handed over the report, but was not thanked for it, and left quickly. There was no doubt that I was unwelcome. Heads bent to study once more: for these the dialectical interplay of the year had ended: a clear choice had been made.

The dialectical interplay between the two traditions also brings out the degrees of commitment the boys have to their religion on the one hand, and their secular studies on the other. Two ideal-type boys have been used to point to some of the more striking effects of the rhythm of the year on the militantly Orthodox boy, the young Chassid, and his less militant but still Orthodox peer. The former's life means deep commitment to the ceremonial routine, the minutiae of ritual, and the obligation of study inherent in Orthodox Judaism. It is commitment to literalism—total obedience to the 'Yoke of the Torah'. Religion comes first; academic work is clearly placed second. However, the 'Yoke' does not always press heavily, and it is apparent that the young Chassid throws himself whole-heartedly into the licensed horseplay and merrymaking that feature in some ceremonies. But even here literalism prevails as he is only strictly observing the various biblical injunctions, which validate such lighter moments.

The average Orthodox boy's commitment is not so total, and he can make compromises with his religious beliefs and observance when the demands of academic work are greatest. However, he seems more anxious than the young Chassid as the pressure builds up prior to examinations. Whether by greater natural ability, or the constant discipline of study, the latter shows less anxiety. A certain arrogance evident in his attitude and commitment to religious observances may be carried over into the domain of secular examinations, and increases his confidence. His peers occasionally resent this and express their attitudes to such extreme Orthodoxy.

The meaning of religion for both types of boy is reinforced by the all-pervasive symbolism in which they participate on major festivals. As Geertz has noted (1966 : 4):

> Religious symbols formulate a basic congruence between a particular style of life and a specific (if, most often, implicit) metaphysic, and in so doing sustain each with the borrowed authority of the other.

Commitment to religion is totally supported by the school, which takes an uncompromising attitude to clashes between religious and

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secular work. Religious observances receive absolute priority. Some boys' frustration over such a situation is apparent in the deputation to the Principal, and in the general air of dissatisfaction that prevails during the two months leading up to the main examinations. The student rag can be interpreted as either collective catharsis or even revenge on the school system, for the intense and unremitting pressure it imposes on the senior boys. In the religious sphere at least, it is pressure that admits of no compromise, and it is noteworthy that the most violent boy in the rag was vacillating in his commitment to Orthodox Judaism.

For the young Chassid, on the other hand, such an outburst seems unnecessary, and is a purely ephemeral affair. As soon as secular work is over he returns to the Talmud. Examinations may be important, but he is secure in the knowledge that he has done very well in them. Now they are over, and he settles the 'Yoke of the Torah' more firmly on his shoulders, from which it had never really departed.

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The Millstones of Tradition

Probably the most puzzling feature of Lubavitcher School is boys' obvious tension when trying to learn what is offered in both traditions. In view of the supportive nature of the school's ethos and eidos, we might have expected that learning would be the least problematical aspect of boys' lives at school but for many, all the evidence points to the contrary. For them, the way of tradition is beset by contradictions and consequent difficulties. On the other hand, for some of the most Orthodox boys, learning in the academic tradition is least problematical. Again, we might have expected that the obvious contradiction between *Torah*-true knowledge and scientific knowledge would produce some uncertainty and confusion, but all the evidence suggests otherwise. The way of tradition in these cases is seemingly straightforward.

To explain these paradoxes we need to go beyond conventional role and socialization theory into a more anthropological view which brings out the full force of the dualism so obviously operating in the boys' formal education. In particular we need to take account of the many overt and covert situational constraints to which they are exposed. For this we return to the concept of the enculturation matrix foreshadowed in the introduction. Together with dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), this concept will assist our understanding of the dialectical tensions at work in Lubavitcher School, due to the operation of the millstones of tradition in the boys' lives. In particular we hope to show why some boys have apparently been defeated by them, while others have managed to rise above the contradictions their education presents.

The enculturation process

In view of this study's anthropological emphasis, and to avoid the problems raised by competing definitions of the term 'socialization',

it seems preferable to see the boys' schooling as one phase of the life-long process of enculturation. This term was first introduced by Herskovits (1948 : 310). Although it has not gained wide acceptance since, it has come to be used in two senses. The most general refers to the transmission of a society's culture to each successive generation. In this sense, culture is seen as a form of social or cultural heritage. However, to conceive of the child as a passive recipient of the social heritage is an over-simplification and even misleading. As Bidney has pointed out (1967 : 27):

> The identification of culture with the social heritage is, to my mind, not only a misnomer but also a serious error, since it implies that the essential feature of culture is the fact of communication and transmission, whereas I maintain that the essential feature is the combination of invention and acquisition through habituation and conditioning. . . . In brief, human culture is historical because it involves change as well as continuity, creation, and discovery of novelties together with the assimilation of traditions. To define culture as a social heritage is to ignore the equally significant element of historical novelty and discontinuity.

The second usage suggested by Herskovits is child-centred, and is similar to the personalistic and humanistic view of culture adopted by Bidney (ibid.: 136–140). Enculturation to Herskovits (1948 : 310) is 'a single process whereby the individual masters and *manipulates* his culture' (my italics). This definition has phenomenological implications which strengthen its adoption for the purposes of this chapter.

The cultural 'raw material' which the child masters and manipulates consists of a complex set of percepts, cognitions, conceptions, and other 'information' derived from his social group, its culture, and the spatial and temporal environment in which both are located. The characteristics of the information are inherent in the nature of culture. We have defined the latter as a patterned system of symbolically and extra-symbolically communicated and interdependent knowledge and conceptions about the technology and skills, customary behaviours, values, beliefs, and attitudes a society has evolved from the past, and progressively modifies to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence. In essence, culture can be seen as a form of socio-biological problem-solving device evolved by a social group to ensure its survival in three types of environment. These are the natural or geographical environment, the

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social environment of other groups, and the 'metaphysical' environment of other-worldly forces, inexplicable natural phenomena, and powers of the universe.

All aspects of the social group's activities, culture, environment and world-view get to be transmitted to a developing child by direct and indirect modes of communication. The most important of these is verbal and gestural communication but, following Leach (1976 : 10), I take the commonsense view that there are many varieties of non-verbal communication which form an important source of 'information' for the child. That is,

> *all* the various non-verbal dimensions of culture, such as styles in clothing, village lay-out, architecture, furniture, food, cooking, music, physical gestures, postural attitudes and so on are organized in patterned sets so as to incorporate coded information in a manner analogous to the sounds and words and sentences of a natural language.

All of these sources provide the child with the raw material which he has to master and manipulate in constructing a subjective version of socio-cultural reality and a satisfying view of his life-world. In essence this is the dominant objective of the enculturation process.

The contextual and situational nature of enculturation

The child does not acquire his culture *in vacuo* but through reciprocated interaction with components of a series of *enculturation matrices*, which he encounters during maturation. Each matrix consists of an aggregate of persons, existing at a particular historical period, in a natural geographical environment or habitat, and bounded by a man-made, technological 'cultural landscape'. The use of matrix in this sense has gained wide acceptance in sociological literature and the contextual emphasis here owes much to the field theory of Kurt Lewin (1967). Swift (1965 : 342) has also suggested that from the child's point of view socialization (my enculturation) occurs within an environment which is his culture. By implication

> the environment contains three aspects—patterns of action, a normative system and physical artifacts. The assumption is that all three are likely to have some bearing upon the ways in which the personality and intellect of the individual develops.

A matrix is illustrated in Figure 4.

The child's enculturation occurs both independently of, and in conjunction with, the mediators or agents of the culture he encounters in an enculturation matrix. They are the source of its 'shared symbols and definitions' (ibid.: 343). They consciously mediate the elements of the tradition that they value through the shared symbol system, or unconsciously act as role-models for the child. In the former case, both spoken and written language is of paramount importance in the enculturation process. In the latter case, paralinguistic means of communication also convey meanings through gestures, postures and use of body movements, facial expressions and eye-contacts, physical proximity and physical contacts.

The child also obtains 'information' from inanimate, man-made components of an enculturation matrix, such as its artifacts, decoration, spatial arrangements, or the style, construction and orientation of buildings. These can reflect important traditional values, especially those relating to the cosmological beliefs of the group. The natural environment itself can have important influences on the development, *inter alia*, of the child's visual perception as Segall, Campbell, and Herskovits have demonstrated empirically (1966). A child is also affected by the social constructions held by members of his group *about* the environment as Kates has suggested (1970 : 648):

> There is an environment in the minds of men. It encompasses the environment of sun and rain, bricks and mortar, people and things. For the human concerned it is no less real than the external ambience despite its existence solely in the form of perceptions, cognitions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour. It is the environment which men both respond to and seek to fashion.

Interaction with an enculturation matrix is reciprocal. That is, the child both receives 'information' from it, and provides feedback into the matrix which plays a part, however minor, in modifying it. An enculturation matrix is thus never static, but evolves over time. However, it is sufficiently stable in the vast majority of cases to enable the child to develop a view of his self, i.e. a self concept, that is specific to the components and processes of the matrix. As G. H. Mead has pointed out (1964 : 42), 'A self can only arise where there is a social process within which this self has had its initiation. It arises within that process.'

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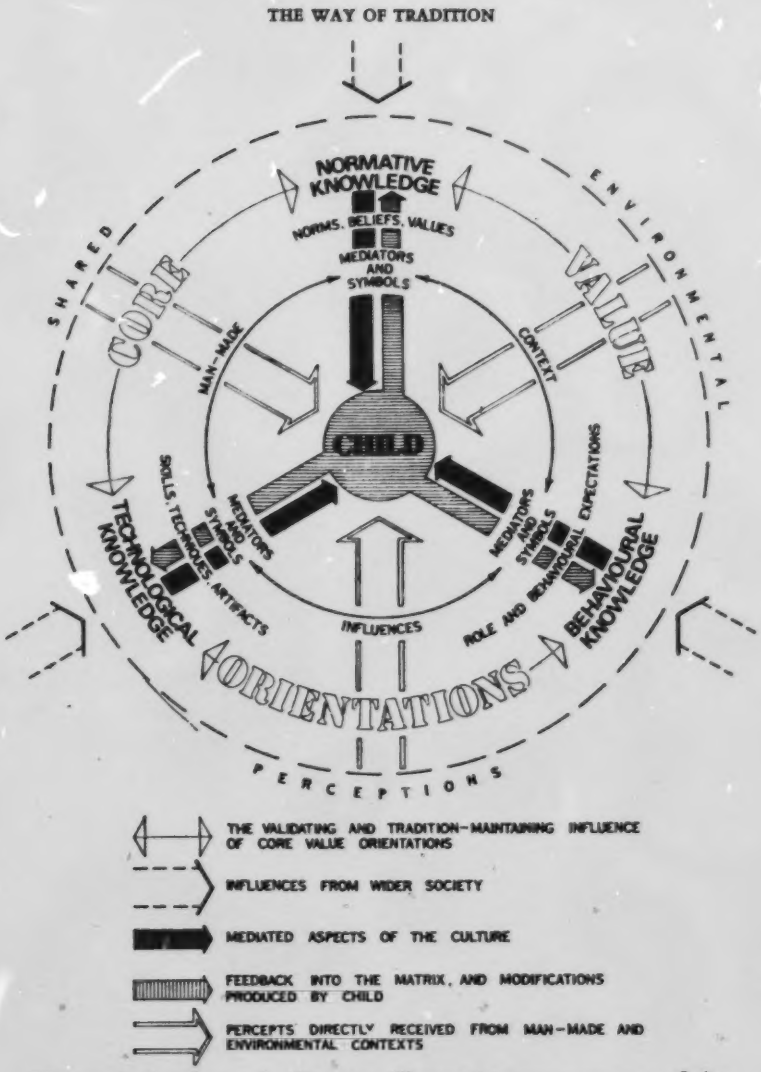

Figure 4. A schematic diagram illustrating components of the enculturation matrix influencing the child

Interaction with a matrix enables the child to form a 'cognitive map' of his social group, which becomes for him a vital frame of self-reference. He identifies himself in relation to significant others in his group, their language, their knowledge and its system of logic. Perceptions of the environment or habitat, its territorial limits and geographical features, are also incorporated into the cognitive map. It enables the child to cope with the life situations he shares with other members of his group, and to determine where its 'internal' and 'external' cultural boundaries lie (Holzner, 1972 : 55 ff). These delimit 'good' membership from deviancy, both within the group, and between it and other groups. Despite their presence, considerable uncertainty can exist about the nature of 'good' membership and types of deviancy, so that enculturation is always to some extent problematical.

The problematical nature of enculturation

The child receives and manipulates information from the enculturation matrices he encounters over a period of time. We can distinguish two major phases in this longitudinal process, which correspond to Berger and Luckmann's (1971 : 149–166) primary and secondary socialization. These are the stages of informal and formal enculturation. Like primary socialization, the former presents relatively few problems (ibid.: 154):

> The child does not internalize the world of his significant others as one of many possible worlds. He internalizes it as *the* world, the only existent and only conceivable world, the world *tout court*. It is for this reason that the world internalized in primary socialization is so much more firmly entrenched in consciousness than worlds internalized in secondary socializations.

However, the following stage of formal enculturation can be more problematical. Firstly, the process takes place in enculturation matrices, such as schools or institutions of learning, where the child is exposed to the dictates of culture mediators and authority figures, who did not feature in his informal enculturation, which took place mainly in a matrix comprising the home and immediate neighbourhood. From such figures he may learn knowledge about other matrices which conflicts with that of his own informal enculturation matrix. The formal enculturation agents may themselves be at odds with each other over what knowledge the child should be presented with. The

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very knowledge itself and its logic may vary from matrix to matrix.

The 'malleable' nature of tradition presents problems, especially in situations where more than one tradition is presented to the child. He may then be compelled to choose either one or the other, or to select parts of each tradition and reject the remainder. His 'range for *praxis*', i.e. the scope for objectifying himself through his own actions and products becomes correspondingly limited (Edgar, 1974 : 672). He is also faced with conflicting emotional attachments: 'foci of commitments around which the known world is organized and information availability is restricted' (ibid.: 673; Holzner, 1972 : 88). The implications of such a situation for the analysis of schooling in pluralist societies are obvious.

School as a formal enculturation matrix

A school can be conceptualized as a formal enculturation matrix. It has a recognized man-made environment with components which will reflect something of the traditions and values of the socio-cultural group supporting the school. Teachers are enculturation agents to whom is entrusted the group's valued knowledge. At best, they may be permitted, and enlightened enough, to *assist* the child in *his* construction of cultural reality by offering an assortment of knowledge in a variety of teaching-learning situations. At worst, the agents may be constrained in what they can offer, and will insist on teaching knowledge derived from a set and controlled curriculum. Such knowledge is likely to be taught didactically under conditions which permit of little, if any, alternative choice. Assisting teachers are other agents, with varying powers of coercion and control over 'internal' boundaries and the prevention of deviance.

A child pursues a pathway through such a formal matrix in a cyclical manner. Each cycle starts with his entry into a grade or form, and normally terminates when he leaves it for another grade at the end of each academic year. Such transitions are points of temporal and spatial discontinuity, occasionally marked by *rites de passage*, such as formal welcoming ceremonies for a new teacher, or 'break-up parties' at the end of the year. In each grade, a different set of enculturation agents, norms, and behaviours will be encountered. As grades are usually hierarchical, a child's process through the matrix involves anticipatory

socialization, in the sociological sense of learning the appropriate role behaviours, skills and knowledge necessary for entering the next grade in the sequence and, finally, for the assumption of a particular status-role in the society he will enter on leaving the matrix. This last transition is usually a major point of discontinuity for the child, and can involve appropriate *rites de passage* such as Speech Night valedictions or matriculation 'farewell dinners'. Student rags are unofficial rituals which mark the discontinuity.

Parallel with, and to some extent over-lapping, the grade system are other groupings to which children belong. These are more informal, and are often of an *ad hoc* nature, but form part of the matrix. They are concerned with extra-curricular activities such as sporting fixtures, educational visits, or merely peer-group comings and goings. All these can also be cyclical, but are usually less regular and can occur in phases, controlled by such aspects as climatic conditions (for sport), events in the wider society (for excursions), or mere whim. Groupings for children's games seem to vary according to the season. A game becomes popular almost overnight, runs its course and is replaced by another almost in a form of ritual sequence hallowed by tradition.

Formal enculturation in Lubavitcher School

The dualism we have seen in the boys' schooling takes on heightened significance when considered within the theory of enculturation proposed above. Despite its superficial appearance of being one organization, the school is two virtually separate enculturation matrices, which operate against each other in a form of enculturation interference that sets up dissonance in the boys by inhibiting what they see to be their dominant need. This is effective learning, which is the common factor in both matrices. For convenience we can refer to them as the 'sacred matrix' of the Great Tradition and the 'secular matrix' of the academic tradition. For the young Chassid and average Orthodox boy effective learning is the pathway to Judaism, the *sine qua non* of Orthodoxy, enshrined in tradition, enjoined in biblical commandments, and constantly reiterated in rabbinical writings. Anything which prevents effective learning in the sacred enculturation matrix might be expected to produce dissonance.

For all boys, whether religious or not, learning in the secular

matrix is the pathway to satisfying vocational and further educational aspirations. From all the evidence accumulated during this study, it is clear that boys have a high degree of unconscious achievement motivation (*n*Ach).[1] This is a

> latent disposition to strive towards a standard of excellence [which] should not be confused with any broad notion of trying to better oneself and get on in life (Jahoda, 1970 : 35; McClelland, 1953).

Moreover, as Jews, boys are placed in a highly favourable situation where both home and cultural influences are supportive of a high degree of *n*Ach. Standards of excellence are imposed on the developing child by parents, and this produces an early formation of high achievement motivation. They impart to the child that he should perform well in relation to the standards of excellence valued by the culture. In time he internalizes such expectations so that he comes to have them of himself.

> Learning to respond to such standards and expectations of high performance can be conceived of as learning a cognitive map of the world in which these standards and expectations are, so to speak, a relevant part of the terrain (Rosen & D'Andrade, 1969 : 78).

They are also a vital part of the Jewish child's informal enculturation.

The high *n*Ach level of boys can also operate in the religious domain, because this is also valued by the Jewish culture. As Strizower has suggested (1964 : 150), 'Jews belong simultaneously to two esteem systems, that of their own society and that of the host society'. Success through gaining esteem in both, or either one, is heavily dependent on learning. We can assume with some confidence that boys will assess teaching-learning situations in the school in terms of the ease with which effective learning, as they interpret it, is facilitated. Anything that frustrates learning might be expected to cause dissonance. If this cannot be reduced or avoided, frustration, stress and dissatisfaction are likely to occur, and will be evident in boys' behaviours.

Enculturation interference inhibiting effective learning occurs when boys experience a dualism produced by the conflicting constructions of reality offered by the competing matrices. Each has its own corps

1. *n*Ach—a technical abbreviation for need-achievement.

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of enculturation agents through the structure and organization of the school. Together with their respective time-tables and calendars, their effect is to put boys in a situation characterized by what can be termed structural-organizational dualism.

Each matrix puts forward its own social construction of knowledge in the formal curriculum, and supports it by a validating ideology and set of values. This can be thought of as a situation of epistemological dualism. A further source of enculturation interference is the ubiquitous countervailing curriculum described in Chapter 8. This has both recognized and unperceived effects on boys' perceptions, as it operates through animate and inanimate message systems.

During the course of each day, boys move from one matrix to the other through a Janus-type enculturation interface. From each it is possible to observe and be influenced by the other. As a result, boys may find considerable difficulty, not only in learning but at a more fundamental level of reality construction. This is to formulate satisfactory interpretations of their life-worlds that are convincing and meaningful. Apart from those who opt out of the situation by leaving the school or suffering some form of breakdown (not an uncommon occurrence in the school), boys cannot escape these dilemmas in their enculturation.

Learning, which can be difficult enough in the normal single-matrix situation of an undivided school, becomes in consequence highly problematical where two matrices are competing for boys' commitment. It is, moreover, a situation which the boys cannot avoid, due to the force of the enculturation imperative. Both traditions stress the importance of learning, but for different reasons. Boys acknowledge this in comments about their futures. In these we have seen the emphasis placed on intellectual achievement and academic learning as an instrumental means of achieving a university place and a career that is upwardly mobile compared with fathers. At the same time, as we have noted, boys clearly place value on becoming Jews of greater or lesser degrees of Orthodoxy. As the following examples indicate, reconciling these twin aims may not be accomplished without some cost.

Structural-organizational dualism

The way each matrix is organized is an important source of stress. The

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sacred matrix admits of little if any manipulation. Its corps of enculturation agents—teaching rabbis, lay religious teachers, young Lubavitcher Rabbis—promulgate its meanings with missionary fervour in the outreach tradition of the Movement. Stress is placed on the strict observance of the minutiae of daily individual and collective religious rituals and ceremonies, the *mitzvot*. Exact times and rules are prescribed for their performance. No manipulation is possible as these meanings are derived from a historical source that admits of no challenge. *Torah* is God-given, and must be believed absolutely. Thus the Great Tradition is not malleable. In consequence, the sacred matrix is markedly 'legalistic or objectivistic' ,i.e. 'rule-and symbol-oriented', to adopt Clark's (1949 : 147) description of the fundamentalist Old Order Amish communities of North America.

In contrast, the secular matrix has a different set of enculturation agents in full-time and part-time staff. The majority are *goyim*, and are very different from those of the sacred matrix. There is not so great a stress placed on clearly defined rules and meticulous performance of rituals. Those commonly observed are diffuse and imprecise, i.e. 'what everybody knows' goes on in schools. As the agents have no commitment to an outreach ideology, there is no question of competing for the boys' allegiance. Indeed, to accommodate the man-activity and man-time value orientations of the Great Tradition, teaching activities in the secular matrix are organized around the scheduled daily, weekly, and yearly times for prayers and ceremonies. However, where dominant values of the secular matrix are involved, the boys are vitally concerned to obtain from staff the proper performance of teaching duties, classroom discipline and, more important, the final examinations which are the acme of the year's academic endeavours. Any breakdown in the organization of the examinations is likely to produce marked reactions.

For instance, the period of the IARTV test examination in October was one of marked tension for the Leaving and Matriculation boys, who regarded their performance as a predictor of success at the external examinations to take place in a matter of weeks. On one afternoon all boys had to sit for the English examination, but this was held up for nearly an hour due to the non-arrival of the senior English master, who had the responsibility for distributing the papers. He was delayed by religious devotions in the *shul*, praying *Minchah*.

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The fiasco that quickly developed among the boys had all the behavioural characteristics indicative of severe stress. Boys dashed hysterically around the school complex looking for the master concerned. They bailed up other senior masters and, almost shouting in anger, demanded that they find the papers and get the examination under way. This proved impossible as the senior master had them with him. Only by very strong disciplinary measures was order restored. The examinations had to be conducted on a subsequent day.

Epistemological dualism

Each matrix makes a selection of the valued public knowledge appropriate to its tradition, and offers it to the boy through the formal curriculum. Although it might be claimed that this caters adequately for his education and aspirations, i.e. to become an observant Jew on the one hand and a successful contender for a university place on the other, it is doubtful whether either selection of knowledge provides an adequate basis for constructing a coherent view of the world.

The knowledge of the academic tradition is fundamentally unrelated to everyday reality, and has to be mastered merely for examination purposes. Of this kind of knowledge Greene has commented (1971 : 253):

> Rarely does it signify possibility for [the boy] as an existing person, mainly concerned with making sense of his own life-world. Rarely does it promise occasions for ordering the materials of that world, for imposing 'configurations' by means of experiences and perspectives made available for personally conducted cognitive action.

But paradoxically, as we have seen, boys prefer learning that would seem to inhibit making sense of their life-worlds, and feel insecure when given opportunities for 'personally conducted cognitive action'. The demands placed on them by the school and parents to pass the HSC examination are so great as to cut them off from a type of secular education that those external to the school might consider to be more satisfying. Boys seem unperturbed by this.

In addition, boys cannot be really sure that the 'scientific' examinable knowledge they are given in the curriculum is worth having. In Lubavitcher eyes it is subject to the 'principle of indeterminism'. The curriculum of the Great Tradition, on the other hand, is *Torah*-true.

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The logics of the two curricula are thus different. Even though boys can manipulate the academic knowledge to a limited extent, as it is derived from humanistic and scientific advances, which are open to rational examination, its very foundation is questioned by Lubavitcher ideology. But to accept this and the *Torah*-true knowledge on which it is based involves each boy in making a leap of faith into total acceptance which transcends rational choice. Epistemological dualism thus places a boy in a double-bind situation. There is the implication that the knowledge offered by the secular matrix is uncertain, and provides shifting sands on which to construct a satisfying view of his life-world. *Torah*-true knowledge is held up to the boy as the only firm foundation, but is beyond the reach of scientific examination and cannot be manipulated. The boy is given no real chance of constructing his own view of reality in the second case, as all is given to him: *praxis* is denied.

Epistemological dualism has the dysfunctional effect of inhibiting the formation of norms and procedures to guide interpersonal relationships. Both traditions stress the accumulation of cognitive information, without the corollary that it shall find expression in guiding behaviour. Solomon (1973 : 175–76) has commented on adult Jewish attitudes to education in Melbourne which support this:

> The general emphasis was on 'what a Jew should know' rather than on 'what a Jew should be' or 'how a Jew should live'. Even among Orthodox adults, there was the unconscious assumption that being a Jew and living as a Jew followed automatically from acquiring intellectual knowledge.

Solomon further points to the lack of integration between the Australian and the Jewish aspects of the Jewish child's formal education, which reflects a compartmentalization of the Australian and Jewish areas of life. Although she notes that preparation for life as a Jew in Australia is left to secular subjects, the paucity of the secular curriculum at the school, with its future-oriented instrumental goals, provides little guidance for the boy, as all subjects are chosen for pragmatic, examination-oriented reasons. Even those elements in the classic academic tradition held to educate the 'whole man' are filtered out as inappropriate.

The connection with the 'real' social world is further attenuated by

the literate culture of the academic tradition. Goody and Watt (1962) have argued that the peculiar characteristics of such a culture are

> an abstraction which disregards an individual's social experience . . . and a compartmentalization of knowledge which restricts the kind of connections which the individual can establish and ratify with the natural and social world.

Literate cultures stress reading and writing, which are necessarily solitary activities. This produces a pronounced individualization, which is seen in its most dramatic form in the ritual of the examination. In the Great Tradition there is also pronounced individualization stemming from emphasis on literate skills. What discussions do take place, as over the Talmud, are essentially contests in which boys are encouraged to demonstrate their pilpulistic ability rather than contribute to consensual opinion.

The social construction of knowledge in the school, arising out of the way it has organized the traditions, may thus be a basic cause of the low value boys place on interpersonal relationships within the school complex. The classroom is the place for individual learning, even a form of competition, rather than co-operation in shared tasks.

More severe dissonance is likely to occur where the availability and reliability of knowledge are problematical. At the first level of analysis, we can see this occurring where enculturation interference takes place. Here, the sacred matrix is obdurately opposed to the secular matrix in the case of epistemological dualism, or more subtly in the countervailing curriculum. At a higher level of analysis, however, we can conceptualize a form of interference in what Bateson has termed 'deutero-learning' or 'meta-learning', that is, in learning how to learn (Bateson, 1958 : 285–86). To say that enculturation interference at either level 'causes' the behavioural patterns, which have been identified as a source of stress in Jews, is to force explanation beyond what may only be correlation. However, it is likely that enculturation interference will set up dissonance among some boys, but only if this cannot be resolved are their reactions likely to become socially pathological.

The fundamental reason has been suggested by Lewin (1967 : 40). The enculturation matrices can be conceptualized as two force fields. In a situation where there is overlapping of two force fields, conflict

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and frustration are generated where equally strong but opposite forces result at some part of the field. This results in a dissonance situation. We can extend this analysis by hypothesizing that boys' perceptions of sources of stress and dissonance in matrix constraints may enable them to reduce dissonance. This is more likely to occur at the conscious level of learning, but even here some undetected sources of dissonance may remain. There is greater likelihood of more and unresolvable dissonance at the unconscious level of deutero-learning, with the consequent conflict and frustration Lewin has conceptualized in overlapping force field situations.

Dissonance at the conscious level of learning

A clear example of irreducible dissonance occurred when the sixth form boys perceived the encroachments of the sacred matrix on the time demanded for study by the secular matrix. Their deputation to the Principal demanded a reduction, but this was refused, and dissonance remained. However, their dissatisfaction with one senior master was passed on to the Principal, and led to his replacement by a teacher whom the boys perceived as more competent. In the first example, the students' demands were frustrated, with some heightening of tension at the sixth form level. In the second case there was a lowering of tension. Ironically, however, in the second instance the boys were able to gain better teaching *as they saw it*, but only at the expense of studying late in the evening and attending classes which often went on until 10 p.m., to accommodate the new teacher's times. Yet the net effect was a reduction in tension, the gain in better teaching clearly outweighing the inconvenience and loss of time during the evening.

Both incidents are examples of the congruence-dissonance dimension that is conceptually at the heart of interactions between boys' felt needs and situational constraints. In broad terms, two enculturation matrices were involved in providing the constraints. In the attempt to reduce the sacred matrix's demands on time, no compromise was obtained from the Principal to meet the needs of the boys, and dissonance was not reduced. Some relief from tension was obtained, however, by altering the constraints of the secular matrix, through appointing a better teacher. The net effect noted was a reduction in dissonance, but not at the expense of the sacred matrix. Indeed, for the boy who

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was against loss of time for religious activities, any reduction in time devoted to the sacred matrix might well have increased his perceived dissonance.

Indeed, no compromises were made throughout the year in the constraints of the sacred matrix in any of the forms. In view of its strictly Orthodox character, we might expect this to have been the case in the school. Those boys, who place their religious need above their educational-vocational need, are clearly not disadvantaged. However, their parents express some dissatisfaction at the encroachment the sacred matrix makes into the secular domain, and comment at teacher-parent evenings on the strain it produces in their boys. They also hint that some conflict in the home occurs when boys are more religious than their parents.

Reduction of the dissonance due to epistemological dualism is possible by filtering out the cognitions of one world-view and opting for the other. It is clear that the Lubavitcher adherents do this through the strategy of seeing scientific knowledge as indeterminate and theoretical, and *Torah*-true knowledge as completely valid. Less Orthodox boys might experience continued dissonance if they cannot accept such an interpretation, and resentment against the Lubavitcher rabbis and young Chassidic supporters, who promote such a view, might be sufficient to cause conflict and hostility. We have seen it flare up occasionally in class against the young Chassid, and some of the hostility shown to teaching rabbis and lay religious teachers can be attributed to this cause. Certainly, there is no way that the less Orthodox boy can reduce dissonance by persuading the more Orthodox Lubavitcher adherents and teachers that they should believe as he does. As we have seen, adherents of the Great Tradition as it is practised at the school are totally uncompromising.

The reverse situation applies to the young Lubavitcher adherents. Although they might experience dissonance over having some of their peers uncommitted to their Lubavitcher ideology, there is evidence to suggest that they manage to win over a number of boys during the year, such is its charismatic attraction and outreach effectiveness. Any dissonance remaining among the Lubavitcher adherents can be resolved by obtaining the support of other believers in the Movement.

It is unlikely that the attitudes and beliefs of the Lubavitcher students

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and Orthodox boys would change to accommodate dissonance experienced from the secular matrix, as religious values are most resistant to change. However, it should not be assumed that some attitudinal conflict might not still be present. In two studies of the effects of Western secular values on traditional value systems, Dawson (1969*a*, 1969*b*) has found that unresolved attitudinal conflict is highest for traditional, high-affect attitudinal objects such as magic and religion, rather than for non-sectarian objects. Unrecognized dissonance in this dimension may underlie the militancy and arrogance of the young Chassid, these being forms of compensatory behaviour for attitudinal conflict.

A further form of compensatory behaviour might be exhibited by those boys who are neither Orthodox nor academically able. Unable to compete effectively in the activities that gain esteem in either matrix, they occupy a status analogous to that of 'stabilized accommodation'. As a minority group in the form their appropriate responses are defined by the dominants (Marden & Meyer, 1968 : 35).

> The psychological costs of this system are high. For the minority person it may affect his perception of reality. . . . A stabilized subordinate position may create difficulty for a member of the subordinate group in handling repressed hostility and inevitable resentment. A variety of devices often develop to help him ease his psychic burden: clowning, intragroup aggression, fantasy, as well as psychological disorder of greater or lesser severity.

It can be hypothesized in the case of several boys that the demands of having to cope with the constraints of both matrices, instead of being able to concentrate all their energies on one, and possibly succeed and gain esteem, may have been the root cause of their very obvious, pathological behaviour in class.

Other boys may have more success in coping with both matrices by matrix-switching or situational selection, which may be possible without a great degree of strain. Boys can opt for the values, knowledge, and behaviour expected in one matrix, and then 'enter' the other matrix (as they do several times daily) and adopt its values, knowledge, and behaviour. Switching from Hebrew to English, and back again, might be achieved with the same degree of ease. Successful

matrix-switching is more likely to be accomplished by boys who are academically able, and thus confident performers in either matrix.

Dissonance at the unconscious level of deutero-learning

Enculturation interference resulting from the operation of the countervailing curriculum has the potential to produce varying degrees of dissonance. But it is apparent that they are not of the type which might result in the total opposition of forces in overlapping force fields, that are seen by Lewin as necessary to produce frustration and conflict. Avenues are available for dissonance reduction, where it is perceived by the boys, but at the unconscious level of deutero-learning this may not be the case.

Such stress is placed on learning in the Jewish culture as a whole, and for the boys at the school in particular, that one must speculate whether a higher level of learning, i.e. that of learning how to learn, may form part of a boy's character structure. As it is an unrecognized component in *n*Ach, boys may not be able to reconcile the causes of felt dissonance, and may thus experience frustration and conflict.

Deutero-learning in the sense used here is an abstract or higher order of learning, in which a person improves his ability to deal with constraints and process the information provided by his culture, in learning situations or contexts.[2] The person comes to act more and more as if contexts of this type are expectable in his universe. Deutero-learning can be thought of as a process of character formation, whereby the individual is enabled to live as if in a context where the methods of learning are expectable. What the individual learns, or fails to learn, from the formal constraints in the contexts of learning can be the clue to his present habits, character, and the manner of participating in the interaction between himself and others. An individual in a relationship with another involving learning will tend, perhaps unconsciously, to form the habit of acting as if he is expecting constraints facilitating learning in further encounters with that other, and perhaps even more widely in further encounters with other individuals and components of interaction settings.

2. The following argument draws heavily on the ideas of Bateson (1958 : 285 ff.), but introduces supplementary concepts, particularly that of the synectic system (Gordon, 1961). Basic concepts from cybernetic theory are also involved (Wiener, 1954).

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An enculturation matrix for formal learning is a form of self-directing, multi-directional feedback or synectic system. A member of it learns learning patterns, and comes to expect a similar type of behaviour from others in the system. He acts in such a way that they will also experience those contexts within which they too will learn learning behaviour. The synectic quality of the system derives from the inputs into it from one member, which affect the environments of others in a way that will cause a similar generation of inputs from them. Some of these will be positive, and will reinforce the progressive development of learning more and better learning behaviour. Other inputs may be negative, and will inhibit development. However, whatever the type of inputs that ensue from other members of the system, they will act back upon the initial individual to produce further change in him in a like direction.

The analogy that such a system conjures up is that of a fastbreeder nuclear reactor, which may go some way towards explaining the feeling one has in the school of super-charged intensity of learning. However, a synectic system requires either internal or external checks unless it is to reach a runaway state. The regular vacations are one form of check, as they disband the system. Examinations are another regulator, as these suspend the learning activity in favour of summative evaluation and assessment of the amount and quality of the learning that has taken place in the system. In the case of the religious Festivals at the school, these also suspend the system for a period, and it is significant that boys refer to some Festivals such as *Purim*, *Succos* and *Simchas Torah* as opportunities for 'letting off steam'.

The constraints of such a deutero-learning system in Lubavitcher School are intense, as the boys have to cope with what might be termed information overload, and learning to learn, i.e. learning to cope with it, has the strength of a categorical imperative. The high level of *n*Ach, which we have suggested applies in the case of most if not all the boys, further motivates their endeavours. It is little wonder, therefore, that one of the most apparent phenomena in the class is anxiety over task performance. Boys constantly need reassurance that they are doing something correctly and not, it should be stressed, that what they are learning is correct. The tension and insecurity generated by teachers setting work in an unfamiliar way has also been noted.

Frustration and conflict can be generated at the deutero-level by a number of enculturation interference mechanisms. As deutero-learning depends on boys receiving the 'signals' of those putting inputs into the synectic system, anything that distracts them, or provides other signals, which are dysfunctional for deutero-learning, constitutes a form of 'noise'. Possible sources of 'noise' have been identified in the covert operation of the countervailing curriculum.

A quite fundamental source of interference is the dualism that has been shown to exist at the epistemological level. The knowledge and logic of the Great Tradition constitute a 'closed system', i.e. one in which the knowables are fixed (Postman & Weingartner, 1971 : 115 ff.). Answers in such a system are right or wrong, unequivocal, and without any other possibility. Apart from mathematics and other physical sciences in the academic tradition, which are also closed systems to a large extent, other disciplines are more or less 'open' systems in which there are degrees of rightness. The term system in this context 'refers to situations in which we are trying to know something, in which we are trying to assign meanings'.

Answers to problems in teaching-learning situations can be derived from both systems, but it is becoming evident in education that those from closed systems are of less and less relevance, either to the accumulation of knowledge or the construction of reality. As Postman and Weingartner comment (ibid.: 118):

> Closed systems simply leave out too much to produce a viable answer to any question except one that is so abstract that the answer doesn't make any difference to human beings as they go about the business of trying to cope with an ever-changing environment.

It is thus possible that some of the conflict-tension that develops in religious instruction classes may be due to boys seeking to apply open-system answers to closed-system problems, and meeting the uncompromising stance of the rabbis.

In secular classes on the other hand, closed-system answers may be applied to open-system problems with similar frustration and potential conflict. In subjects such as History, Economics, Geography, Social Studies, and English Literature, there is a move away from rote learning of masses of facts to be regurgitated at an examination, towards the development of reasoning ability and the application of knowledge

to novel problem situations. Such methods of assessment are used in the CSSE and VUSEB examination papers. It was quite apparent when boys were preparing for these that they were attempting to apply learning strategies more appropriate to the Great Tradition, particularly rote memory, with consequent frustration and tension. Much of their querulous hostility in class during the lessons practising with external examination papers arose from my insistence that there are no 'correct' answers to be learned for them, but only the ability to reason out problems and apply basic principles.

There is thus the distinct possibility that a considerable part of the frustration, conflict and tension in the classroom is generated by dissonance at the deutero-learning level. For this reason it is situational, as the boys do not construe out-of-class activities as 'real' learning. Boys' hostility to staff in the classroom may be due to their inability to promote learning as the boys construe it. The boys are unable to reduce dissonance at the deutero-learning level because it is part of their character structures and, in the final analysis, is a product of their informal enculturation. Thus the dynamics of the classroom are generated by unknown psychological forces as well as by the boys' perceptions of the social exchanges appropriate in teaching-learning situations.

Towards a theory of enculturation dissonance

Reality construction and the process of enculturation constitute one of the cultural imperatives of any socio-cultural group, and thus must be considered universal. The form they take, however, is culture-specific, and one socio-cultural group's social organization of tradition and formal enculturation has been described and analysed above. The concept of enculturation interference has been used to explain why reality construction in the case of a number of boys at Lubavitcher School produces behavioural indices of anxiety, frustration and conflict. It has been suggested that this may be due to boys' inability to resolve the dissonance at two levels of learning. Of these, the higher-order level of deutero-learning may be the domain in which unrecognized dissonance occurs. Being unrecognized, dissonance reduction strategies may not apply. The boys are thus caught in a synectic system, in which conflict and frustration are generated by multi-directional feedback.

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The dynamics of the system have a self-regulatory cut-off control so that the anxiety, frustration, and conflict are periodically checked or discharged through forms of catharsis.

If we adopt the viewpoint that learning and deutero-learning are components in the total enculturation process, then it follows that they are culturally constructed, in exactly the same way as the enculturation process itself is culturally constructed. Learning, i.e. constructing reality, will have as its corollary deutero-construction of reality. Both are problematical, but it may be that interference to the latter produces a different degree and kind of uncertainty, in that it is part of the person's character structure and accessible only through personal introspection, either unaided or with the assistance of appropriate psychiatric measures.

Enculturation interference will be likely to occur wherever the child is presented with competing traditions and world-views. These may be highly formalized as in a great tradition, or relatively diffuse and informal—the 'little tradition' of which Redfield (1956 : 41) and Singer (1960) write. Numerous examples of traditions and world-views in opposition and even competition throughout the world may be cited. In such situations lie the seeds of enculturation dissonance. We can think of ethnic minorities, migrant groups, peasant communities, and pre-literate cultures within wider macro-systems as being potentially vulnerable to the phenomenon.

The enculturation matrix model proposed here may be universally applicable and may provide the conceptual basis for a theory of enculturation dissonance. A child constructs a view of the self and reality through reciprocated interaction with components of successive enculturation matrices from the moment of birth. He also *deutero-learns* how to construct reality, and this process is internalized to become part of his character structure. As a result of interactions with components of the matrices the child accumulates a variety of percepts, building towards a view of his life-world. Although the process is problematical to some extent, there is basic congruence at both the existential and deutero-levels of reality construction, *if* the enculturation matrices are validated by common traditions and values.

For the purposes of this general theory, the possibility must be raised that 'normal' deutero-learning will be inhibited if any components in

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an enculturation matrix accessible to the child are pathological in terms of his socio-cultural group's definitions of normality and pathology. For instance, a child's parents may be mentally defective, and present views of reality that are distortions of the 'objective' reality that might otherwise be presented to the child. Under such circumstances the child may experience enculturation dissonance of pathological origins.

In cases where the child is exposed to two enculturation matrices validated by differing traditions and values, either wholly or in part, enculturation dissonance is likely to occur at both levels of reality construction. Where discrepant percepts are recognized, the child will adopt various dissonance reduction strategies to relieve felt stress. His degree of success or failure will depend on the malleability of the percepts, and willingness on the part of agents in the enculturation matrix to let him work *in his own way* to reconcile the recognized discrepancies. Additionally, success will also depend on the congruence of the two types of deutero-learning embodied in the two matrices. Where these are not unduly discrepant, deutero-learned ways of constructing reality can be applied to the novel situation and new percepts. Where there is a lack of fit or congruence at the deutero-level, enculturation dissonance of varying degrees will result.

The child is then in a dualistic situation with consequent conflict and frustration. He will react with a behavioural style that is appropriate to his socio-cultural group. In Lubavitcher School, for instance, we have seen that this takes the form of aggression, anxiety, tension and hyperactivity. In other cultures, apathy, withdrawal, and passivity might be the culturally appropriate responses. Failure to recognize the source of his frustration and conflict prevents the child from adopting appropriate coping behaviour, and may lead to aggression-displacement onto innocent members of the enculturation matrix—the scapegoating syndrome—or destruction of objects and property in the spatial environment of the matrix. Such failure is more likely to result from dissonance at the deutero-level of enculturation, where the cause is built into the character structure of the child himself.

The function of studies such as that carried out in Lubavitcher School is to throw light on educational processes in little known social groups and to generate grounded theory. Although little ought to be

generalized beyond the scope of this study, it is possible that the theory of enculturation dissonance that has been proposed may have an application to understanding educational problems in multi-ethnic societies. In the past decade or more in education in such countries as Great Britain, Australia and the United States we have seen a number of problems arising in schools. Student unrest amounting to alienation and even anomie, changing values placed on education, discipline, and academic attainment are some of the phenomena that can be noted. There has also been a marked cultural diversification in the populations of many schools due to the influx of migrant and ethnic minority pupils from a variety of sources. In consequence, schools in some areas have become places where the values and beliefs of great as well as little traditions are in confrontation. Conceptually this is a setting for potential enculturation dissonance. The value of the theory proposed here can be assessed by the extent to which it may help to explain and predict the problems we are now witnessing in Western education systems.

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Appendix

Towards a Neo-ethnographic Research Method

The rationale of a research project and the field-work techniques it employs, together with the logic underlying its methodology, are often implicit, rather than explicit, in the resultant publication. In many cases, especially those that follow the conventional psychometric or sociological styles, any detailed consideration of methodology would be superfluous. The familiar paraphernalia of questionnaire and quantified statistics speak for themselves. This study of an Orthodox Jewish day-school is very different, as its approach is novel and best described as neo-ethnography. In this appendix I deal with some of its features and discuss a number of problems that arose during the course of my research.

There is an additional reason for such a description following the recent trend in anthropological studies towards describing how they were carried out 'warts and all'. This seems to be far preferable to pretending that one's research was unproblematical. What follows is a further contribution to this long overdue development of real professionalism and honesty in field-work.

Chronology of field-work

Research within the school was carried out over nearly 14 months from mid-January 1969 to mid-March 1970, when I had to resign due to ill-health caused by the pressure of work from other commitments, compounded by the strain of the research itself. This period comprised an entire academic year, including holidays, and some six weeks of the following academic year. It covered more than the 12 months recommended as a minimal period for ethnographic field-work (Valentine, 1968 : 183), and enabled me to study the functioning of the school through its complete religious and academic

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cycles. This proved to be an essential part of the research. The extra six weeks or so provided a limited opportunity to check data obtained early in the previous year when I was still finding my feet, and missed some episodes in both cycles.

During the first year I managed to maintain formal teaching contact with school classes for an average total of twenty 40-minute periods per week during term time. Contact of various kinds, and for different purposes and duration, was possible with all forms in the secondary school. I supervised Forms 1 and 2 for one period a week each while they got on with work set by another teacher. I taught Geography to Forms 3 and 4 as complete groups for a number of periods per week. The latter was the most important, as I also had administrative responsibility for it as a form master. I met only a proportion of the fifth and sixth forms, teaching Geography to the former and Social Studies to the latter. As their work was oriented towards public examinations at the end of the year, opportunities to gather information were correspondingly limited.

Although relieved of playground supervision, I was required to attend other educational functions at the school: infrequent staff meetings, school assemblies and special gatherings, parents' meetings during the evening, and the final Speech Night. Whenever other commitments permitted, I came to the school at off-duty times, which gave opportunities to observe its activities without the restriction of being in class teaching. On one or two days a week, the arrangement of my time-table allowed for spare periods, which were used initially to prepare or correct work. However, as the year progressed, with the concomitant need to increase the intensity of the research, this kind of schoolwork was done at home during the evenings, and the time gained during the day given to research.

In the second year, formal teaching had to be curtailed to six periods a week after normal school hours, with one large group of students taking Higher School Certificate (Matriculation) Social Studies. Teaching this group extended into the late afternoon and evening. By that time, the rest of the school had gone home, with the exception of other senior boys compelled to stay late for evening classes. Thus opportunities for formal research were almost non-existent. However, I could still drop into the school at other times by

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virtue of my continuing association with it as a teacher. On these occasions it was possible to meet pupils from my previous classes on a more informal basis, though data gained were limited.

School vacations and week-ends were major gaps in contact, as opportunities to come to school as if in the normal course of teaching duties were difficult to arrange. On one or two occasions I came in to see the activities on a Sunday morning, but the curiosity and excited reaction of the boys appeared to indicate that my presence was so out of the ordinary that the practice was discontinued for fear of making my research work too obvious and thus jeopardizing normal work. Other opportunities for more informal interaction with boys arose during geography excursions, a farewell party at a boy's home for one of my form going on *aliyah*[1], and the visit to the neighbouring high school for the CSSE. However, these were seen as normal by the boys, and no comments occurred.

Outreach contacts with some boys were also compatible with my role of schoolmaster. I was able to visit several homes to give boys special coaching, or to discuss their progress with their parents. In one of these cases, my visits for these purposes shaded off into lengthy discussions about Judaism, in general, and the function of the school in promoting the Lubavitcher ideology. The parents of the boys concerned knew of my general research interests, and later in the year were instrumental in enabling me to attend two important ceremonies: a *Bar Mitzvah* and its following communal meal, and a meal in the *succah*, which the family shared with others in a block of flats. Both opportunities to share in these occasions were deeply appreciated. The latter was particularly important as it gave considerable insight into the continuity of ritual life that takes place outside the *shul*, and how important the family is in Judaism.

Research opportunities outside my role as a teacher involved mostly religious activities. Unless prevented by illness or unavoidable commitments, I was able to attend worship at the synagogue for most major religious Festivals throughout the year. My participation in the services was unavoidably limited as the Liturgy is in Hebrew, and announcements to the congregation are in Yiddish. On several occasions I was

1. *Aliyah* (Heb.)—'ascent', 'going up'. Used here in the sense of making a visit to Israel.

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indebted to the boys I taught, who came over to me to point out the place in the Hebrew-English edition of the prayer book I had obtained. However, this was not always successful, as worship follows the Lubavitcher liturgical order, which differs in many respects from that in the prayer book I used. Through the kindness of Jewish friends, I was able to take part in their Sabbath midday meal following attendance at Morning Service, and also the *Seder* or home ceremony on *Erev Pesach*. During the week-end prior to this, I was able to watch the elaborate ritual preparations and the baking of *shmurah matzah* at the school. As well as these special occasions, contact with individual and group worship was a frequent occurrence in the course of my normal duties during the day.

Research methodology and techniques

In contrast to much psychometric and sociological research, in which theory is either non-existent or plays a very minor role, the neo-ethnographic approach used for this study gave equal weight to theory, methodology and techniques. The first illuminated the conceptual nature of the social and cultural world of the school, and provided a general orientation to guide my observations. Unless one has this, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to attach significance to anything one sees. Some kind of pre-understanding is essential before embarking upon field-work if one's notebooks are not to become a mixture of irrelevant trivialities and relevant data.

Theory also assists one to decide the logic of the research methodology. This study was based on two major theoretical ideas. The first was that the school, in all its 'external' features, is the logical attempt by its supporting community to socially and culturally organize the transmission of two traditions. The research methodology that logically followed from this first notion favoured a structural-functional approach to the field from the point of view of an external observer. Various organizational and structural aspects of the school could be observed and recorded reasonably objectively, and their relevance to the on-going life and maintenance of its functions described. The results of this type of basically uninvolved observation-while-a-participant provide the bases for Part 1 of this book.

When we come to Part 2, however, the logic of the research

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methodology changes to an 'internal' or community-member orientation. Its aim was to find out and reconstruct something of the boys' reactions to the structural and organizational constraints described in Part 1. To obtain the meanings *they* attached to the life of the school I had to become much more of a participant in their lives and much less of an external and basically uninvolved observer. This did not take place in the chronological sequence that this implies, but rather in a dialectical manner which had me moving in and out of the appropriate research roles almost hour by hour as problems presented themselves and their resolution was required. Theoretically, at one moment I could be taking a structural-functional orientation to the field (the 'external' stance); the next moment I could be taking a social interactionist, phenomenological orientation (the 'internal' stance) to discover the boys' own constructions of their life-worlds. Each orientation needed its own type of methodology.

The essential point is that neo-ethnographic methodology is not solely a matter of choosing techniques—usually quantitative and statistical—in the hope that they will discover something, without having a clear notion about what that something is or how it will be used in later analysis. It is impossible to just state the facts without theoretical guidance about the kind of social reality one is investigating. Theory informs research at each of its four stages: theory statement, classification, observation, and analysis. Naroll and Cohen's (1970: 25–30) concept of the 'spiral of theory testing' embodies these ideas:

> The key point to grasp firmly in mind is that scientific research consists of all four of these activities, linked together. The validation of one activity depends on the other three . . . Scientific research consists of an endless cycle of observation, classification, analysis and theory. But the cycle is a spiral, moving upward. Each turn advances the state of knowledge. Each of us may begin at any point on the spiral he likes. But the value of his work can only be fixed by examining its relevance to the other points.

My field-work techniques also had to be specially chosen to fit in with unanticipated constraints in the field besides the logic of both 'internal' and 'external' orientations. A number of factors worked against using conventional, structured questionnaires or formal interviews. The Principal had asked me very early on in the period not to question the boys although I had not been doing so before then.

There was also considerable sensitivity on the part of the boys themselves about tackling anything that smacked of a sociological questionnaire. A survey conducted two years earlier had made some of them suspicious of such methods of data-gathering, so much so, they informed me with some triumph, that many of the answers they gave on that particular occasion had been faked.[2] Even the well-concealed, unobtrusive measures that I had to resort to did not escape comment from boys, parents and the Principal.

As a result it was necessary to employ a modification of the traditional participant observation technique, which would eliminate the need to use informants, but at the same time provide ways to obtain data. The strategy adopted, *supplemented participatory observation*, placed most reliance on regular and long-term face-to-face relationships with boys and others in the school as part of our shared natural school settings. In this role I was very much part of the situations I was studying, and both modified them by my own actions, and was in turn influenced by them.

A great deal of my information was gathered by systematic observation which tried as much as possible to reduce the effect of my presence in the situation. Such neutral observation was occasionally accomplished by using the women's balcony as a concealed point to watch events in the *shul* below during the day. But neutrality was far less successful in classrooms on those occasions when I was only supposed to supervise work set by another teacher, and tried to use the opportunity to observe boys' classroom behaviour. They were usually alert to anything I did, however unobtrusively I tried to note down my observations. It was never possible to use the types of coding inventories, time-sampling, behavioural grids, and other sophisticated data-gathering techniques employed by students of classroom interaction. Instead I had to rely on a simplified coding technique to record behaviours, by noting the time a transaction occurred, whether it was self-, other-, or object-directed, who were the initiators, and who were the targets of the transactions, and who were involved as an interested audience. It was usually possible to mask what I was doing

2. One of the surveys conducted at the school for the 1966–67 Jewish Community Study in Melbourne.

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at the teacher's desk by pretending to correct work. However, I was never an uninvolved observer, as my supervisory role necessitated keeping order, answering questions, or otherwise interfering in the stream of behaviour I was hoping to observe. What I recorded was thus no doubt heavily contaminated by the observer-effect, but still gives both quantitative and qualitative evidence of boys' behaviour in class.

In contrast to my desire to reduce the observer-effect in these types of situations, the reverse was the case when encouraging boys to comment on their lives during our many informal discussions, casual conversations, arguments, and exchange of asides. Data were forthcoming from dialectical questioning, i.e. a form of unstructured dialogue involving all of us in any group. In this technique, based on hermeneutic principles (Watson–Franke & Watson, 1975), there is a free-flowing exchange of ideas and actions between the observer, who acts as a catalyst, and those others present. The aim is to phrase comments and questions in a way that is appropriate to the context of the phenomena one is trying to understand. This is often best achieved by throwing up problems, paradoxes, confessions of ignorance and other unexpected aspects of the phenomena, which leads the exchange of ideas into unanticipated paths, and ultimately achieves a fuller and less restricted type of understanding.

An important feature of this method is that the questioning is not unidirectional, from observer to subject, but should be such as to allow for the respondent to make his own comments or ask questions of the observer. Despite the apparently free-wheeling style of dialectical questioning the researcher must still have a clear pre-understanding of what he wants to get out of any session, but should not be so restricted in his methods that he inhibits the exchange of ideas if it develops along unexpected lines.

As my basic strategy, dialectical questioning yielded a considerable amount of information, but I could not be sure that I was getting the full range of the boys' own ideas about their life-worlds or that my very presence in the group was not causing them to play up for my benefit. Some control over the latter gradually developed due to the length of time I spent in the field, as it seemed inconceivable that the boys could have maintained a charade for nearly a year. The former was the greater problem and had to be countered by other means.

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As part of my constant participatory observation activities I also accumulated a mass of archival material. By the end of second term it was possible to take a number of photographs of boys and the campus using a 35 mm camera. Official photographs of the boys and of some major religious events were available from commercial photographers or the weekly Jewish press, and also added to my material. The net result of my 'ethnographic vacuum cleaner' activities (Silverman, 1972 : 206) is a synchronic picture of the school, which conveys meaning not only through its factual content, but also by the very media or form in which it is recorded. This adds weight to the data by reminding me in a subtle way of the time, occasion and, more importantly, the 'atmosphere' of the events I witnessed.

Acting on the *ad hoc* principle of naive pragmatism—if it works, use it—I developed a battery of written research instruments to complement participatory observation. These included sentence-completion tests, Thematic Apperception Tests (TATs) and other projective measures, which the boys were given as part of their normal schoolwork. Ideal opportunities arose for their use during practice runs for the Commonwealth Secondary Scholarship Examination which itself made considerable use of such projective tests. My instruments served both teaching and research ends. For ethical and educational reasons they were not used in the fifth or sixth forms, both of which faced external examinations at the end of the year.

With one exception, these were disguised measures although ostensibly they formed part of on-going classwork. The exception was the occasion when my research interest in Judaism was stated. This occurred right at the end of my first year when I felt able to reveal it to my own form. I asked the boys to write down on a piece of paper their answers to a projective question—what it meant to them to be a Jew, and also to note whether Yiddish was spoken in the home.[3] By that time a small number of boys had left the form to go home or on vacation before the official school break-up, so my data in this instance are incomplete but very valuable.

The attraction of the projective-type instrument for my research was at least threefold. Because I had been denied opportunities to carry

3. A similar question was used in the Melbourne survey (Medding, 1973 : 276).

out overt research into attitudes using scaled questionnaires, the obvious substitute was the projective technique, despite its known imperfections. My use of it was perfectly consistent with the needs of the boys at the time and the instruments I adopted matched those in past examination papers, and fairly accurately predicted the types of questions the boys ultimately answered. Thus my instruments served clear educational ends, which were obvious to the boys, and reduced the likelihood that they would be seen as related to research interests, even if these were suspected. The boys' answers were thus likely to be more genuine, and related to their real attitudes, than might otherwise be the case. My interest was in the boys' attitudes and own ideas about their life-worlds the tests revealed, rather than in any clinical psychological conditions that might be present. Interpreting these would, in any case, have been far outside my sphere of competence. Perhaps a final argument in their favour is the instruments' known imperfections. As Webb et al. note (1966 : 3), the essence of the triangulation of measurement process is the scope it offers for using imperfect measures. 'If a proposition can survive the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures, with all their irrelevant error, confidence should be placed in it.'

An additional instrument was used for the fourth form. This was a long geography project (*Sociological Studies in Geography*) which was a major departure from the traditions of social research. As far as I am aware it is an innovation among the techniques commonly known as 'structured disguised instruments'. The project was first and foremost an educational exercise, evaluating several months of work in a geography course during which all the requisite academic skills, knowledge and concepts had been taught, as part and parcel of many others in the syllabus prepared for the form. It was only secondarily a structured, disguised research instrument, its potential in this respect having become obvious when it was being prepared, and some parts evaluated, in junior forms. At the stage of the year for which it was designed, my participatory observation had begun to yield diminishing returns, particularly in the area of boys' extra-curricular and out-of-school backgrounds, and their constructions of their life-worlds.

However, even this instrument did not pass without comment from boys' parents, and the whole question raises the very great difficulty

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of using virtually any instrument in a field situation where a high degree of inherent suspicion exists among all subjects about being 'investigated'. One can only make one's research measures as eclectic and multi-operational as possible, so that data can be regularly validated by 'data triangulation'. In this way, results that receive repeated confirmation can be taken with a fair degree of confidence. The degree to which gaps exist in data may even be of positive worth as an indication of how closely the subjects manage to guard their lives from outsiders. As Poll has noted in his study of a Chassidic community in Williamsburg (1962), even for a fellow Jew such defensive reactions are maintained. My success as a *goy* can be viewed in this light.

Problems of field-work

Participatory observation of the type used for this research is phenomenological rather than positivistic. Bruyn (1970*a* : 284) notes its essential characteristics. The 'rule of openness' prevails so that the observer endeavours to obtain an intuitive grasp of his subject and its surroundings, rather than start with hypotheses that can either circumscribe the field, or interfere with the accuracy of findings. Rather than defining variables and the causal order in which they are expected, the participant observer/phenomenologist

> tend[s] to let the variables define themselves in the context of the research. . . . The emphasis . . . is upon following those procedures which best allow the subjects to speak for themselves in contrast to the traditional empiricist who emphasizes procedures which help explain the subjects from an independent standpoint.

The phenomenological emphasis in research involves a number of problems in methodology, which may not be the case for the traditional empiricist. Many of them were generated by the type of field situation in which I was working. Although the notion has a romantic attraction, I would be naive to imagine that the research was carried out in the classical anthropological tradition as if the school-community were isolated from the wider world. Instead, the exigencies I experienced and my solutions to the problems are comparable to those described by Margaret Mead (1972 : 120–132) as typical of research in a 'high culture'.

This is a culture very like one's own: in Mead's case, as an American

studying England and the English culture. Behavioural styles, language, customs and beliefs were superficially similar, as were many technological elements. Thus, social interaction to a high degree was possible on the basis of the common elements Mead shared with her English friends. The one great gap she notes was the impossibility of transforming them into anthropological informants. To discuss their culture with them 'would have been to take intolerable liberties'.

In the case of my own research, the great gap was an imposed one and not of my own choosing. With one or two exceptions, I had no informants in the traditional sense. Interaction with the boys and other staff, both lay and religious, at the school was possible because we all shared certain knowledge based on sets of assumptions appropriate to school life. In essence, any school is a form of social interaction setting in which actors take a number of roles. These are partly traditional—the 'pupil role', the 'teacher role'—and partly localized in one or two schools, e.g. in the case of a religious school, the 'religious teacher role'.

The situation at the school was somewhat more complicated than that discussed by Mead, as actors in the setting are drawn from three cultures. The first is the Western industrial, technological culture, based on the vague, Judaeo-Christian ethic. The major set of assumptions appropriate to it is bound up with the academic curriculum of the school, which is oriented to preparing for and passing highly competitive examinations at the fifth and sixth forms. Boys must achieve these levels if they aspire to gain socio-economic status in the materialistic sphere of their lives. As a teacher, I derive the majority of my assumptions from this culture, and my essential role was to pass on to the boys the requisite body of knowledge for success in the examinations.

However, my interaction with the boys was facilitated by another set of assumptions, which is drawn from what I know about the general Jewish culture shared by the wider Jewish community in Melbourne. This includes many of the technological aspects of the Western culture, some of its behavioural aspects, and even some of its superficial beliefs and attitudes. It also contains elements derived from common folk or ethnic backgrounds, group consciousness and loyalty. This 'Jewishness' provides a focus of self-identification and communal

identity. Yet for research purposes it is still enough of a 'high culture' to pose a concomitant set of research problems.

But for boys at the school there seems yet another: this is predominantly an *ideational culture* (Sorokin, 1937). Theodorson and Theodorson (1970 : 194) see this as a type of culture 'in which the highest values are nonmaterial, transcendental, and supernatural. Ultimate reality is spiritual and nonutilitarian'. Possessing its own unique symbol and language systems, this culture is distinct from those common elements of the 'high culture' I shared with the boys, and greatly added to the complexity of my research act.

My field situation contained representatives from each of the three cultures I have suggested above. As actor, my task was to adopt the appropriate roles for successful negotiations with these significant others on a number of levels: as a teacher, as someone with a self-confessed interest in Judaism, and as an undeclared research worker. To guide me in each role I had the appropriate sets of assumptions, all of varying usefulness, which depended on the degree of my knowledge of the cultures from which the significant others came.

Taking the research worker role was thus fraught with numerous complications. On the one hand, boys saw me as a teacher. My activities and contacts with them were thus 'normal' as I was obviously in a 'helping role' (Mead, 1972 : 122), which justified what I was doing. On the other hand, there were many occasions when my role obviously puzzled the boys as it was incompatible with what they associated with a teacher. Such occasions occurred when I visited the school out of normal hours or attended worship in the *shul*.

It was obvious at the beginning of my research that my attendance at religious ceremonies puzzled the boys: they were unexpected contacts, which did not match their expectations of me as teacher. I answered their questions as to why I attended by saying in effect that I took an interest in comparative religion and was particularly interested in Judaism. When I continued to go to services a senior boy asked me if I intended to convert to Judaism, and came to worship for that purpose. His question was based on the precedent of another non-Jew who regularly attended the *shul*, as part of his formal instruction in the faith as a preliminary to conversion. On one or two occasions it seemed that my attendance at a ceremony was completely out of

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character in the eyes of some boys and adults. To judge from their almost hostile reactions the occasions were unexpected contacts and deviant. In consequence little data were obtained, and in any case had to be carefully scrutinized for possible bias I might inject into them, by over-reacting to my perceptions of audience reactions to my presence.

I had to try at all times to maintain this type of delicate balance. If I merely carried out my role as teacher, little research data of value were obtained. Yet, if I strayed too far towards unusual behaviour in another role I obtained more data, but there was always the possibility that they could be contaminated by my subjective feelings, which were induced by audience reactions to what was seen as deviant behaviour.

I was in a situation, of the type described by Kai Erikson (1962: 307–308), which is marked by contradictory rules and ambiguity. By being careful to observe one set of demands imposed on me, I ran the risk of violating some other demands or rules. In the eyes of those from one or other of the three cultures I have referred to, I could be seen as deviant. Yet, as Erikson points out, I had little control over their reactions, as deviance is determined by the audience of the actor rather than the actor himself. Paradoxically, I could also have been in the position of maintaining the group members' notions of deviancy, by being a form of boundary patroller. Transactions between me (the potential if not outright deviant) on one side of the boundary and those agents controlling behaviour on the other side served to define where the boundary was. It may be that I was more tolerated than might have been the case but for my boundary patrolling activities.

To guide my role-making I had only intuition and the reactions of others to assist me. Both suffered from serious limitations. Faulty interpretation of the reactions of my audience could result in my becoming so inhibited as to hamper future work on a number of grounds. Through being unduly sensitive to imagined rebuffs I ran the risk of adopting a role that was unduly restricting. Conversely, by being insensitive to obvious signals from the audience that contact in a certain social area was unwelcome, such an elastic role might have been adopted that future field-work was endangered.

A dilemma occurred when no signals of unwelcome contact were

given. This point was brought home to me on at least two occasions. The first occurred during one of several discussions about Judaism at the home of one of the boys in my form. I had asked how I would know if I was putting my foot wrong, either while teaching the boys or during research. I would not be told in so many words, came the reply. I would be allowed to go on putting my foot wrong until it either dawned on me, or the whole enterprise collapsed. *Then* I would know. Meanwhile, nothing would be said or done to warn me of the likely outcome of the course I was taking. I would thus have to be very careful in everything I did.[4]

Lest it be thought that this applies only to non-Jews in contact with the community, I should refer to the second occasion when a similar comment was made, but about a Jewish woman attending a service in the synagogue. I had observed something about her which seemed out of place for such an occasion, and had asked the Principal during one of our discussions on religious observances whether someone would advise the woman. 'No,' came the reply. 'You are correct in what you saw, but it is our policy not to tell people like that where they are going wrong. We hope they will learn eventually of their own accord.'

Participatory observation under such circumstances is obviously a different enterprise from the classic accounts of 'old masters' such as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Redfield, Firth, and Evans-Pritchard. One of the key components in their field situations was the informant relationship, with its 'collegiality: [in which] the field work depends on the sophisticated comment of the informant at every step of the way' (Mead, 1972 : 121). In my field situation, such a relationship was lacking. Had it been available I might have been able to reduce the risk of misinterpreting my subjects' cultural signals. A sympathetic informant would also have been able to reduce my constant, nagging worry that I was straying too far into unwelcome areas to the extent of becoming deviant. By being too diffident about attending some ceremonies, or asking questions even when opportunity offered, I undoubtedly missed much that would have been invaluable.

4. Poll has commented on comparable difficulties he experienced when trying to establish contact with a Hasidic community in Williamsburg, New York; moreover, Poll is a Jew (Poll, 1962 : Appendix).

This seems inevitable when explicit guidance from an informant is lacking, and is obviously exacerbated if one's subjects deliberately conceal their signals of disapproval or even approval. The unpredictability of such a field situation generates severe psychological stress for the observer, as he can never be sure about the reliability of anything he experiences. In a low culture, it is possible that informants would give vague generalizations if they want to avoid forbidden areas. However, if they do give information freely, there seems to be no reason why they should not be believed. As they have no positive gain in lying, and probably do not lie, what they do disclose is possibly the truth.

In the classic research situation, the observer is urged to use his 'personal equation' (Nadel, 1951 : 48) to adjust his subjective reactions to sense impressions, in an effort to minimize bias. In a high culture, this technique seems to have several limitations. The personal equation cannot be a constant form of adjustment factor, as seems to be implied, where the dynamics of the field situation are never the same twice running. The interactions between observer and observed are in a state of constant flux. In addition, the observer is part of the field situation, and affects it by his presence and actions, even by his emotions. All these alter over time.

In face-to-face contacts, the observer must thus take into account at least two dimensions. One is an interaction dimension, i.e. the role he adopts, and a temporal dimension. The latter is the phase of research or the time when the interaction occurs. The longer one stays in contact with the field situation the more personal impressions are amassed to take forward throughout the remaining research. The interactions between observer and observed are vastly different at the end of a lengthy period in the field, from what they were at the beginning. Research workers commonly report on the emotions felt when they leave the field, such have been the rapport and genuine friendship built up during the course of field-work. Regret is felt at parting by both the observer and the observed, in contrast to the suspicion and uneasiness that can often characterize the start of research. It is thus apparent that the time dimension varies qualitatively as well as quantitatively, i.e. in purely chronological terms.

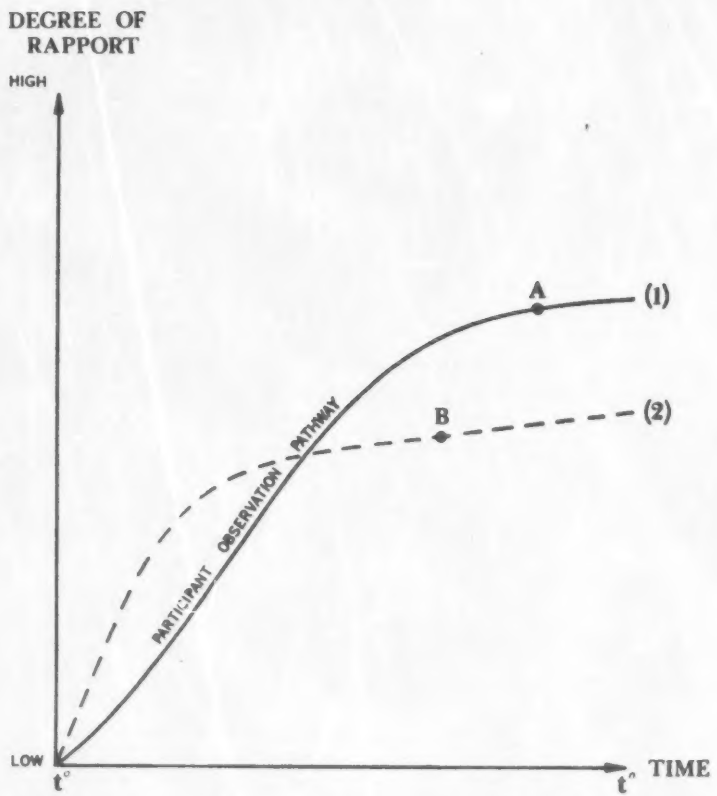
It is necessary to take into account this third dimension in the total

field situation, as it inevitably affects all parties in it. The dimension comprises the varying emotional charges—the analogy with an electric battery is intentional—which are part and parcel of events in the time dimension. If this is thought of as a flow of experiences rather than a chronological sequence of events, the electrical analogy assumes added force. Some events are highly charged with emotion by having a high cathectic quality for the subjects of research—while others have a smaller charge, and are less psychologically demanding. A number of events in the Orthodox Jewish stream of experience, in which fasting is mandatory, add to their high cathectic quality by being physiologically demanding. For the research worker caught up in such a flow of experiences, reactions to what is observed have to adjust to a succession of peaks and troughs, whose cathectic quality can only be judged subjectively. A third dimension is thus added to those already discussed.

The field situation, of which the research worker is himself an integral part, can be 'mapped' by using these three dimensions as co-ordinates. The first is the chronological time dimension (an independent variable). The second is the degree of rapport one achieves in his various roles. This is both an independent and dependent variable; the latter relating to time in the field. The third is the cathectic quality or the emotional charge in events occurring over time. The first two dimensions can be shown diagrammatically as in Figure 5.

Two hypothetical participatory observation 'pathways' are illustrated. Position A suggests a high degree of rapport developed steadily over a lengthy period of time. Its corresponding pathway could be typical of field-work under classic conditions in a low culture, with informants and a high degree of collegiality present. Position B suggests a lower degree of rapport developed relatively quickly, but failing to increase through time. Its corresponding pathway could be typical of field-work in a high culture lacking collegiality. Some rapport is established quickly as learning the language does not present a problem, but the degree of depth of insight and participation ultimately achieved is lower than in the low culture pathway.

However, phases of the time dimension have varying amounts of emotional charge or cathectic quality. Any point on the two-dimen-



(1) A HYPOTHESISED 'LOW CULTURE' PATHWAY – CURVILINEAR AS FULL RAPPORT, i.e. CULTURAL ASSIMILATION, IS NOT REACHED.

(2) A HYPOTHESISED 'HIGH CULTURE' PATHWAY – CURVILINEAR AS EXTRA TIME SPENT IN FIELD DOES NOT GREATLY INCREASE RAPPORT.

Figure 5. A two-dimensional view of participatory observation

sional time/rapport plane thus has its corresponding cathectic quality. The vertical projection of all possible points forms a *cathectic surface*, shown diagrammatically as in Figure 6. The surface is undulating to denote the peaks and troughs of emotional charge which constitute its dominant characteristic. These are a function of both time and degree of rapport, and it seems necessary for the observer to take into account all three aspects when observing and interpreting behaviours.

Ethical issues

The cathectic element in the field-work highlights the difficulties the observer faces in preserving some objectivity, while at the same time endeavouring to achieve a degree of empathy or *verstehen* in the Weberian sense. To the extent that he identifies and participates with his subjects on the cathectic plane in order to obtain *verstehen*, he risks losing the objectivity that has long been considered the hallmark of successful field-work. Yet, to remain emotionally detached is to run the risk of losing the empathetic participation necessary to subjectively understand and reconstruct others' life-worlds. Some events gain their cathectic quality by the very sharing of emotions. By standing aloof at such times as, for instance, the shower of congratulations poured upon the senior master on the birth of his son, I would not only have cut myself off from a flow of shared joy and emotion, but would have risked prejudicing future field-work. It seems mandatory for the observer to be a social being in terms of the culture he is studying, and to describe it in terms of its own internal order and logic. This, of course, runs the risk of the observer becoming so personally involved with his subjects that his reporting is subjective.

In order to reduce distortions to data from this effect, field-work experiences can be monitored by independent observers of the culture to whom the observer has access. In this respect, field-work in a high culture can be turned to positive advantage. Mead was able to alleviate the sense of isolation she experienced in studying a high culture by having opportunities to discuss it analytically and intellectually with friends. These were not members of the high culture but, like her, were professionally interested in trying to understand it (Mead, 1972 : 124–45). I had a number of Jewish friends with whom I could discuss the boys at the school, but by doing so a number of ethical issues

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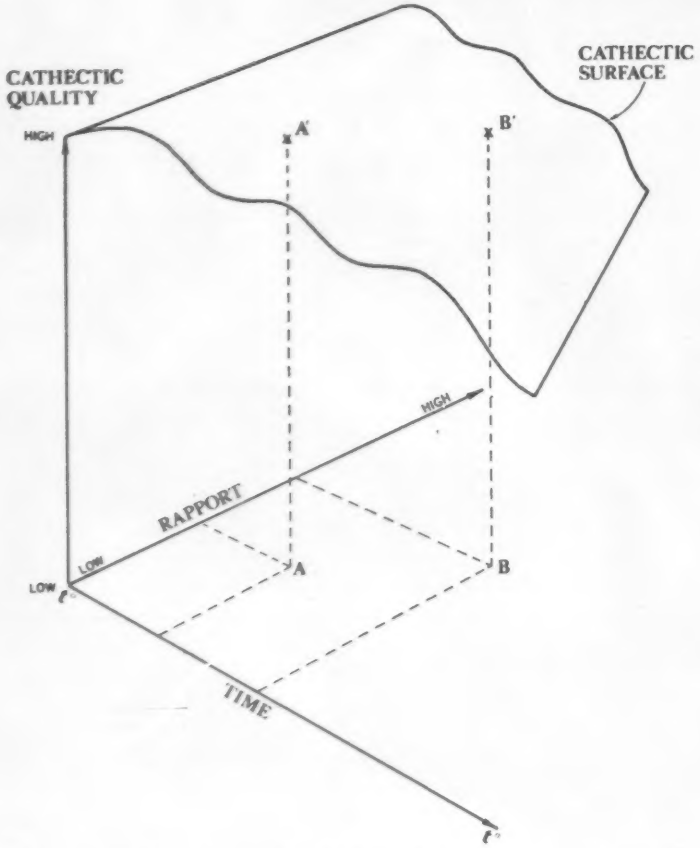

Figure 6. A three-dimensional view of participatory observation

became apparent, and the practice was discontinued. It was obvious that the comments intended to help me were, in fact, coloured by my friends' lack of knowledge about the unique community of which the school is a part. Comments about 'average' Jews were of little assistance. It was also apparent that the behaviour of boys at the school was invariably seen as deviant, and I was in danger of breaching confidences in some cases by discussing certain aspects. The only exceptions were a psychiatrist I discussed boys with, whose clinical impartiality and confidentiality could be relied on, and the officers of the Jewish Welfare Society who are bound by a similar code of ethics.

Ethical issues arise when one is tempted to go and observe comparable institutions. At one stage during field-work, when nothing appeared to make sense—a stage not unique to judge from the accounts of others—it was tempting to take up invitations to visit the leaders of other Jewish congregations in the Melbourne area in order to discuss my own research. I also toyed with the idea of visiting their synagogues for certain services. These all had to be rejected for several reasons. During research it had become all too apparent that the Orthodoxy of the Lubavitcher School set it apart from the remaining congregations, and was seen by some of them in an unfavourable light. The information and comments of more liberal Jews might have been biased against the congregation attached to the school. In discussions, I might also have betrayed confidences. In addition, my own impressions were confused enough, but had to be sorted out within the bounds of the field situation of which I was a member. Transferring to another situation would have compounded confusion rather than eased it.

It was also apparent that such an action would have been regarded as disloyal by members of my own school-community. This was made quite clear during discussion with one of the administrative staff about obtaining a seat in the *shul* for the approaching High Holy Days. I happened to mention that I might attend one of the liberal synagogues, but was warned most seriously that this would be a mistake. Word that I had attended worship *there* would quickly get back to the school, and would not be liked at all. The implication was clear that I somehow 'belonged' to the school and would be considered disloyal if I went

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elsewhere, particularly to a less Orthodox *shul*. In the outcome I attended services in 'my own' *shul*.

Close attachment of this nature to one's subject of research, which one both feels at the personal level, and realizes is implicit from the expectations of others, inevitably exacerbates the observer's ethical problems. He has to come to terms with how much to disclose, what to keep private, even whether to publish at all. Such decisions are as much part and parcel of the phenomenological stance towards field-work as the data themselves. It seems logical that all one can arrive at is a personal decision rather than a summation of the arguments of others, in which as many points for as against what one has done can be found.

My research interest in the school was not concealed from the Principal at our first meeting. Then and on subsequent meetings we had the tacit understanding that I was to carry out research and teach. On several occasions during staff meetings, the Principal made asides to me that I would appreciate the significance of an item we happened to be discussing, although he never made my dual role explicit to other members of staff. A number of them gradually came to suspect that I was carrying out research of some sort, but were not clear about its exact nature. A similar awareness gradually developed among the boys, particularly towards the end of the first year. Since leaving the field I have been asked by several of the boys I taught about the progress of the original thesis, in terms that showed they had been far more aware of my research role at the school than I realized at the time. Far from showing resentment, their questions have indicated a very keen interest in the outcome of the research, and particularly in what I think about the school.

The research techniques used were an inevitable outcome of the request that I should not ask the boys questions about their religious beliefs. This obviously impeded research to a considerable degree, and at one point it was tempting to abandon the whole enterprise, as was suggested by several of my academic advisers. However, too much had been invested in it personally, as I had resigned from a senior position at another school to do the research, and had more or less burnt my bridges behind me. The fear that the unobtrusive measures used might be harmful to the boys is unfounded, as all were turned to

educational use in preparing for examinations or forming part of on-going educational work.

The problem of what to publish and what to conceal has been the most difficult to solve. One might firstly make a distinction between knowledge about the school that belongs to the public domain and knowledge which belongs to the private domain. A great deal of straight description belongs to the former and is accessible to others besides myself—educationists, members of the wider Jewish community, and of the community associated with the school itself. Part of it has even been published in the Jewish newspaper. It is thus 'common knowledge' and cannot be regarded as confidential. However, even in this domain some precautions have been taken. By my own decision, and at the Principal's request, the exact name and location of the school have not been identified. Some parts of the data have been changed to conceal identities, without altering the meaning of what has been published. The religious curriculum of the school has been described exactly as it was given to me by the Director of Religious Studies, who made no request that it be kept confidential.

Knowledge that belongs to the private domain lays the obligation of confidentiality on me but only to the extent, it would seem, that by publishing it I might risk harming either the reputation of the school itself or any of its members. At no time during research was information given to me on the condition that it be kept confidential. Despite this, I have chosen to suppress a considerable amount of personal information that came my way in the role of teacher rather than research worker. The devices of using code letters for boys, pseudonyms, and composite ideal-type boys, are some guarantee that persons do not identify themselves or each other. The lapse of time between the date of research and the publication of this book is a further protection against identification and possible harm.

Shils has suggested (1959 : 131):

> Privacy and even secrecy are positive rights, but the obligation to respect them may properly be suspended by the deliberate decision of the participants whose privacy is in question. Moreover, as long as the knowledge was sought solely for increasing our general intellectual understanding of human conduct, the moral obligation is held within bounds.

To some extent it would be legitimate to claim that the agreement to

employ me at the school, under conditions in which my research interests were known, was a 'deliberate decision' which partially suspended the school's rights to absolute secrecy and privacy. In return for the privilege of entry to Lubavitcher School, I would hope that any increase of knowledge of human conduct in this book has not been gained by any improper use of this fiduciary relationship.